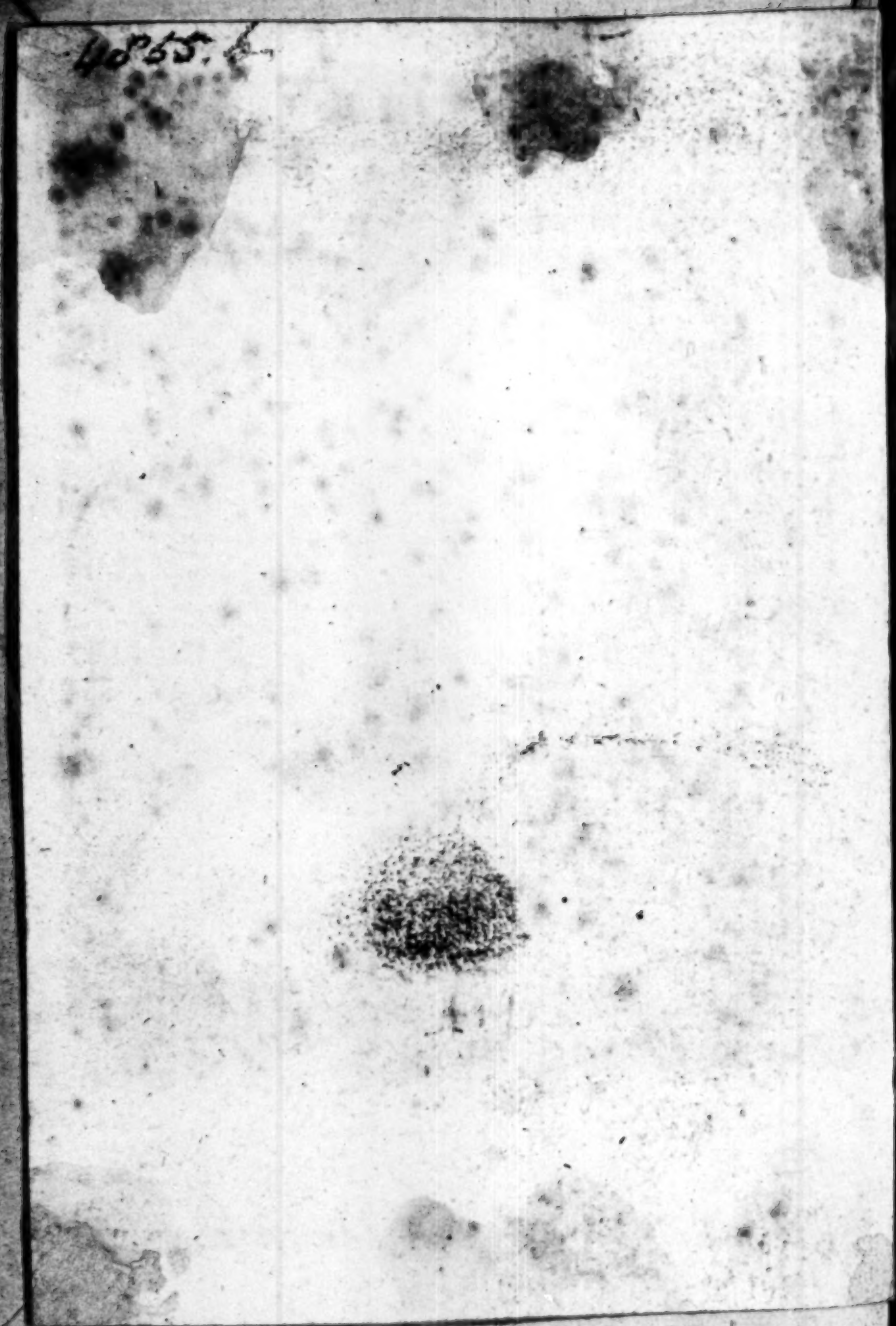




*H. T. M.*  
**ARCHIBALD BOWER.**



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SIX  
LETTERS

FROM

A——d B——r *K*

TO

Father S H E L D O N,  
Provincial of the *Jesuits* in *England*;

Illustrated with

Several REMARKABLE FACTS,  
tending to ascertain the *Authenticity*  
of the said LETTERS, and the true  
*Character* of the WRITER.

---

*If the external Evidence be convincingly strong, and  
there is no internal Proof of its Falshood, but much to  
support and confirm its Truth, then surely no Difficulties  
ought to prevent our giving a full Assent and Belief to it.*

OBSERVATIONS on the CONVERSION  
of St. PAUL, p. 107.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for J. MORGAN, in *Pater-noster Row*,  
M DCC LVI.

[Price Eighteen-pence.]

LETTERS

FROM

A. B. C.

TO

Barth S. A. B. C.

Provincial of the ...

...

General ...

leading to ascertain the ...  
of the ... and the ...  
Character of the ...

If the ...  
there is no ...  
... and ...  
... to ...



Observations on the ...  
of St. Paul ...

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ...  
M DCC LVI

[Price Eighteen pence]

BEFORE the publication of the History of the Popes, by A——d B——r, Esq; heretofore public professor of rhetoric, history, and philosophy in the universities of Rome, Fermo, and Macerata, and in the latter place counsellor of the inquisition, the attention of the public was greatly excited by the above high-sounding titles (a) which the author assumed, and by the

(a) That I may not omit any thing material, nor repeat, as my own, what hath already been observed by another, I beg leave to offer to the reader, in this note, the following very remarkable particulars concerning Mr. B---'s titles, which I have extracted from a pamphlet, intituled, *Remarks on the two first volumes of the lives of the Popes*, bearing date, Douay 1754, not meaning to put an implicit confidence in any thing that cometh from such a quarter, but rather desirous to give Mr. B---r an opportunity of vindicating himself, by letting him see that what had been charged upon him near two years ago, without any reply, in a *Popish* pamphlet, becomes now more worthy of his notice, as it is made public to *Protestants*.

‘ We cannot wonder (says the anonymous remarker) that the character of such an Historian should fill his purse, draw in a long list of subscribers and patrons, and make all who were imposed upon by the cheat, big with expectations of something extraordinary from such a pen. It is to be presumed, that his intention is already answered, at least as to his main purpose of subscriptions, and the *disguised Jesuit* may be now safely unmasked: I am surprised to find the only title omitted which he could with truth, and ought in justice, to have mentioned, that of a *Jesuit*, and of a professed *Jesuit*: for he had made his last solemn vows. He certainly could not mean that by the word *Esquire*. Why then did he suppress his former professions of *Jesuit* and *Priest*? - - - I know not whether the church of *England*, which glories in supporting the hierarchy, would approve such a conduct, that a priest should totally shake off his orders, and metamorphose himself into a *lay squire*, so as to retain neither the name, nor any marks or obligations, of his former state. May we not ascribe the suppression of this circumstance in our *North Briton* to an apprehension that it might give some scandal or offence.’ And again. ‘ Mr. B---r, to  
A indemnify



the industry made use of to represent him not only as a convert from *popery*, but as a convert who had given the most convincing proofs of his sincerity. His story, indeed, as retailed by him in conversation, was ex-

• indemnify himself for the omission of the titles of *Priest* and  
• *Jesuit*, ushers in his name, adorned with those of public  
• Professor of Eloquence, History and Philosophy, in the  
• universities of *Rome*, *Fermo* and *Macerata*. - - - I am in-  
• formed, that he *certainly never was* a professor, but only a  
• student, in *Rome*, tho' that city is not famed as an univer-  
• sity, except for the canon and civil laws : so that what he  
• here means I cannot guess. He taught, indeed, the schools  
• of humanity, and I believe, of morals and philosophy, at  
• *Macerata* - - - which college is barely a school for the neigh-  
• bourhood, not a place of reputation or resort for learning.  
• The Gentleman seems at some loss for titles, when he strains  
• and boasts so pompously that he has been a school-master,  
• in a society instituted for that end, and which most com-  
• monly assigns that employment to its young members. - - -  
• But how can we think him at a loss, whilst we read him  
• qualified *Counsellor of the Inquisition* ? By this word, I  
• should naturally understand a judge in that tribunal : for  
• the word counsellor in a court abroad, signifies a judge and  
• it is explained of our author in that sense, in the relation  
• published by Dr. *Hill*. But I should be glad for his sake to  
• presume that by this title he means to stile himself only  
• *Consultor*, to bring to the inquisition prohibited books, espe-  
• cially *English*, or to be consulted by the inquisitors in cer-  
• tain cases, which is a thing possible, and very probable : for  
• in country-towns a curate or school-master may bear such  
• a title. In *France* booksellers - - - are often deputed - - - to  
• examine books, which are imported. But for a *Jesuit in-*  
• *quisitor* in *Italy*, every one who has travelled abroad, and in-  
• formed himself of that court, knows it is an *Hirco-cervus*, a  
• monster in nature, it being a thing repugnant to the laws  
• and customs of that country, whatever might be possible  
• else where. When Mr. *B* - - - is pleased to favor the pub-  
• lic with that narrative of his escape from *Italy*, and of his  
• conduct since his arrival in *England*, which is expected, in  
• his *peculiar* situation, by every lover of truth, it will be *ab-*  
• *solutely necessary* for him to give solid answers to the contents  
• of this, and of some other notes which I shall extract from the  
• pamphlet of his *Popish* remarker.

tremely

tremely well calculated to engage the curiosity, and to affect the good nature of the people of this island, who could not, as he flattered himself, hear him relate the wonderful account of the motives which induced him to change his religion, and of his escape from the inquisition of *Macerata* in the pope's dominions, without opening their arms to embrace him as one who had exposed himself to dangers that ought to endear him to Protestants.

Numbers of unexceptionable witnesses, many of them persons of high rank, at *London*, at *Bath*, in the North of *England*, and in several parts of *Scotland*, have heard this remarkable tale from Mr. B——r's own mouth; and it made so deep an impression upon some, that they committed to writing a story, which, however extraordinary, they believed on the *unsupported* evidence of the relater, and which, therefore, they thought ought not to be forgot. By this means, few of the good protestants of *Great Britain*, have ever heard any thing of the *Historian of the Popes*, or perused his history, without also knowing something of his hazardous escape from *Italy*; and the MS. accounts of it being handed about, and transcribed, it was no wonder, that one of them should at last, be conveyed to the press (*b*), the substance of which I shall here present to the reader.

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‘ Upon

(*b*) It was published, in November 1750. By Mr. *Richard Barron*, a dissenting minister, who wrote a preface to the narrative, in which he mentions its having been communicated by Mr. B——r himself, to the Rev. Mr. *Hill*, chaplain to the *Archbishop of Canterbury*. But, in this, is appeared by an advertisement of Mr. *Hill*, that Mr. *Barron* was mistaken. For tho' what he printed had been copied from a MS. in the hand writing of Mr. *Hill*; this MS. was only a copy of an account of this matter, which had been sent up, as I am informed, to his grace of *Canterbury* by a correspondent in the country, and was taken down by *William Duncombe Esq;* and his son, from the mouth of a *considerable Person*, who, upon hearing it afterwards read, acknowledged it to be what he

‘ Upon an information that a person had spoke disrespectfully of the inquisition, whilst the guilty person suffered at *Rome*, an innocent gentleman of *Florence*

he had heard from B---r’s own mouth. And, indeed, if we except perhaps one or two geographical inaccuracies in the account published by Mr. *Barron*, it agrees, as to the principal particulars, with the story, which *very many* of Mr. B---r’s acquaintances well remember to have heard from his own mouth. I have, long before Mr. *Barron*’s pamphlet appeared, been entertained with the same tale, repeated to me by gentlemen of judgment and veracity, who heard the author himself give the narration; and I had, lately, in my hands, a MS. account, consisting of 27 quarto pages, taken from his own mouth, by a lady in *Cumberland*, and transcribed from her papers by a very eminent divine of our church, now vested with the highest honours in one of the universities. The principal difference between the account published by *Barron* and the MS. one just mentioned, consists in this, that the latter is vastly more copious and circumstantial, and paints the cruelties of the inquisition in much stronger colours. After being told this, the reader will be surprized to read the advertisement which Mr. B---r published on the occasion in the *General Advertiser* of *November 2d 1750*.

*Bond-Street November 2, 1750.*

‘ Whereas a pamphlet is just published, entituled, *A faithful account of Mr. A---d B---r’s motives for leaving his office of secretary, &c.* To prevent the public from being imposed upon, I hereby declare, that I gave no such account, and that it is *almost in every particular absolutely false.*’

A. B.

Why this worthy gentleman should have been so ready to give the lie, in so peremptory words, to a story which he had been as ready to propagate in conversation, will be very difficult to be well accounted for, supposing the facts which he related to have really happened. The above advertisement, therefore, could not but create a suspicion in the minds of some who before had a good opinion of him, that the curious account of his escape, with which he had captivated the hearts of honest Protestants, was a tale fit only for *select* companies, and not proper to be made public, lest it should get into the hands of *Papists*, who might be so uncivil as to charge him with having courted applause by making a sacri-



\* Florence was by a villainous treachery decoyed thence  
 \* to Macerata, where, Mr. B---r himself *sitting in*  
 \* the council of inquisition, he was tortured with a cruelty  
 \* beyond  
 a sacrifice of truth.---In order, therefore, to remove all such  
 suspicions, and to satisfy those friends who could not recon-  
 cile Mr. B---r's advertisement with what they had heard from  
 his own mouth, he thought it necessary to make the follow-  
 ing declaration, which I have transcribed from the General  
 Advertiser of November 27, 1750.

*Bond-Street, November 27, 1750.*

‘ An account of the motives that occasioned my leaving the  
 ‘ inquisition, *very imperfect, and false in many circumstances*  
 ‘ that might affect and impeach the credit of the whole, having  
 ‘ been surreptitiously imposed on the public, and a new edition  
 ‘ thereof being advertised by the publisher, notwithstanding it  
 ‘ has been publicly disavowed by me and by the gentleman  
 ‘ who was said to have taken it immediately from my mouth, I  
 ‘ shall, at the desire of my friends, publish, myself, a true  
 ‘ account of this matter in all its particulars, *as soon* as I have  
 ‘ acquitted myself of my engagement to my subscribers, by  
 ‘ finishing the additional sheets that will complete the second  
 ‘ volume of my History of the Popes. A. B---r.’

It is impossible for any one, who compares this last adver-  
 tisement with the former one of November the 2d, not to be  
 struck with a most essential inconsistency. In this last, Mr.  
 B---r says that Mr. Barron's account is *very imperfect, and false*  
*in many circumstances*; words which plainly admit that the  
 facts are, in general, true: and yet if we look back, we  
 shall find him, on the 2d of November, declaring that this  
 very account is *almost, in every particular, absolutely false*.  
 Mr. B---r, it is to be supposed, had, when his second advertise-  
 ment came out, refreshed his memory; or, which is most  
 probable, some of his friends had put him in mind that  
 they had heard from himself a story agreeable to that account  
 which he had called *absolutely false in almost every particular*.  
 And he must well remember that he had a visit from the  
 Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Hill, chaplain to his Grace the Archbishop of  
 Canterbury, to know upon what grounds he had so absolute-  
 ly denied the story; and his answers were so prevaricating and  
 evasive, that Mr. Hill came away with the lowest opinion  
 of his sincerity; for the only mistakes that he pretended to  
 find in the account were of the name of a place and of a date.  
 But what is most remarkable in the last advertisement, is

beyond that of *Nero*, and, at last, dismissed upon advice that the true criminal was taken at *Rome*: but the unhappy gentleman continued, ever after, senseless and distracted. Another relation given by Mr. B---r is still more frightful. A certain gentleman, his particular friend, happened to let fall an innocent joke, about the garb of two capuchin friars, and being overheard by them, was accused to the inquisition. Mr. B---r was ordered to take a guard, which is always in waiting, and to apprehend his unfortunate friend, whilst he was in bed with his wife, lately married, at midnight; and the least excuse would have been fatal to himself. The nobleman expired under his inhuman tortures, in presence of the inquisitors. Mr. B---r struck with horror, resolved to make his escape, and to renounce a religion which sanctified such villanies. He procured, from the inquisitor general leave to make a pilgrimage to *Loretto*, but shaped his course over the mountains to *Switzerland*, armed with a pocket-pistol, in resolution to dispatch himself for fear of torments, in case he could no ways escape. Both he and his horse were growing faint when he arrived among the *Switzers*: but whilst he was refreshing himself in a catholic canton, he saw himself described, with a great reward for apprehending him, in a paper which two men were reading.

the solemn promise which Mr. B---r makes to publish, himself, a true account of his escape, so soon as he should have acquitted himself of his engagement to his subscribers, by finishing his second volume. This second volume hath been completed these five years, the third hath, long ago, made its appearance, and the fourth, we are assured, is in great forwardness in the press; but where is Mr. B---r's promised account? He hath shamefully broke his word to the public: and he who could be guilty of this, hath given but too much reason for our disbelieving any thing which hath no other evidence but his own word to support it. --- In short, to use Mr. *Barron's* just remark, in some queries which B. never answered, the whole affair turns upon the veracity of a man, who to raise compassion and gain money, has told such stories in private as he dare not publicly acknowledge.

reading. He disguised himself, got away immediately, or he would have been seized. From *Berne* he fell down the *Rhine* to *Strasburg*, to avoid passing through *Popish* countries, and from *Strasburg* he came on post-horses to *Calais*. No sooner was he alighted at his inn there, but advertisements were fixt upon the gate, describing him, and promising a reward for apprehending him. He endeavoured to cross the sea in a fishing boat, but was forced back to *Calais*, the weather being too boisterous. Luckily, Lord *Baltimore* took him into his yacht. The day he landed at *Dover*, he was surprized to receive a letter directed to him from the inquisitor general, with promises of honor and rewards, if he would return. But the person had disappeared, before he could enquire after him.

This tale with all its improbabilities and inconsistencies (c), and to which Mr. B——r usually added, upon the same infallible authority of his own word, a

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lament,

(c) Mr. B. is desired to give an answer to the following quotation from his *Popish* antagonist. 'The story of Mr. B.'s escape is the most ridiculous piece of forgery, in every circumstance. - - - The pretended cruelties which the author describes, are said to have been exercised for the most trifling jests, such as are not uncommon in those countries, as my ears have been witnesses. Certainly, the author was resolved that no flourishes should be wanting to his tale, that might render it more surprizing. But he ought to have first proved that the judges were not civilized creatures, or even men, that his story might appear possible. Mr. B. indeed made his escape from *Perugia* to *Venice*, and I do not doubt in great haste. The occasion is very well known in that country, in the family of *Buonacorsi*. The reason of his hurry in *Calais* to cross the channel (which was very different) is likewise well known among his brother Jesuits and countrymen at *Douay*. I am persuaded he has never chosen to publish the one or the other. I only say, they have no sort of affinity with what the pamphleteer puts in his mouth. Mr. B. by disowning it has ingenuously given him the lie, which testimony alone ought to have discredited the pretended authority of him who disclaims it. Indeed who could imagine it possible, that this gentleman would



lamentable description of the many dangers to which he was daily exposed, after his arrival in *England*, by the attempts of the *Papists* to poison or kidnap him, had the wished-for effect, gained *general* credit, and, of course, recommended the hero of it to the favor of many well-meaning Protestants, who eagerly subscribed to his *History of the Popes*, a work to enrich which they were taught to believe that the treasures of the *Vatican* had been ransacked, and in which the secrets of the *inquisition* would be disclosed; and which, it was thought, would contain many discoveries fatal to the cause of *popery*, as being written by one whose former professions as a *jesuit* and as an *inquisitor* had given him access to know the weakness of that cause, which, it was supposed, he had deserted upon principle.

‘ would not have made a more consistent story? Would he  
 ‘ have altered and contradicted every real circumstance of  
 ‘ his escape and journey? Could he have said that he ob-  
 ‘ tained leave to make a pilgrimage to *Loretto*, from the in-  
 ‘ quisitor general, who knew this was to transfer the scene  
 ‘ into *Spain* or *Portugal*, to find such a title, which is not  
 ‘ to be met with in *Rome*, much less in a *Jesuit’s* convent in  
 ‘ *Macerata* or *Perugia*? He would not have forged an  
 ‘ advertisement of the *inquisition* published in any of the  
 ‘ *Swiss* cantons; --- much less would he have invented the  
 ‘ story, that he was no sooner got into *Calais*, but his person  
 ‘ was marked to the sentry at the gate of the town to be  
 ‘ seized; and this from the *inquisition*, which has no more  
 ‘ power in *France* than it has in *England*. The like orders  
 ‘ would have been given at the same time to the guards of  
 ‘ the harbour, who are always extremely vigilant. Conse-  
 ‘ quently he could never have got out of *Calais*. This whole  
 ‘ piece is diverting to one who knows the excessive jealousy  
 ‘ of all *French* tribunals against the least act or name of a  
 ‘ foreign *inquisition*. But the story of the invisible messenger  
 ‘ with a letter from the *inquisitor* general, meeting him at  
 ‘ *Dover*, crowns the jest. He would certainly have kept so  
 ‘ precious a monument, and so honourable a proof as that  
 ‘ letter would have been. And I would fain know, who  
 ‘ ever heard of an *inquisitor* general in *Italy*; for the *Pope*  
 ‘ cannot be meant by that name.

Mr.



Mr. B——r's proposals and preface to his History of the popes were published in the year 1747 (*d*); and, from that time, he hath been looked upon by the public in general as a worthy champion of the reformed church; his work, so far as it hath been carried on, hath had many admirers, and more readers: and, as if the ample profits of a subscription uncommonly great were an inadequate reward for his labour, a noble pension hath been settled upon him, by the solicitation of a patron, whose character, both as a man and as a scholar, *is* in such estimation, that his friendship, while it procured to Mr. B——r the solid advantages of profit, could not fail to procure to him, at the same time, the pleasing acquisition of reputation.

Thus rewarded and thus honored as the historian of the *popes* hath been, whoever would attempt to unmask him as an impostor, will, no doubt, find the Public extremely averse to change the favorable opinion they have entertained of his character; and nothing but evidence irresistible can be supposed capable of producing this effect, and of engaging those, who have been imposed upon, to confess, without reluctance, what there can be no disgrace in confessing, that their good sense hath been a dupe to low cunning, and impudent falsehood.

(*d*) They bear date *March 25, 1747*. In these proposals he promised that the two first volumes, which would reach to the death of *Gregory VII.* in 1085, would be delivered on, or before, Lady-day 1748: whereas the second volume extends no farther than the death of *Boniface III.* anno 607, and *Gregory the 7th* hath not even made his appearance in the *third vol.* The first vol. was published in *May 1748*, and the second not completed before 1751. The public were made to believe that the whole work would be comprized in *four volumes*; but, at the rate the author seems resolved to go on, we may perhaps be favored with *fourteen volumes*. Never surely was there a more glaring instance of scandalous abuse of the public favour, than in the case before us. Had any other person, except Mr. B——r, given this convincing proof that he spun out his work merely to encrease his gains, he would have been despised as a mercenary hackney-scribbler.

And

And yet, difficult as the task may be, I am not without hopes, that I shall be able to place such facts before the reader, as must convince every one whose mind is open to conviction, that the author of the history of the popes is an impostor, who, having gained the rewards of virtue, deserveth to be exposed to the infamy of vice; and whom not to expose, when there are materials for doing it in my possession, would, in some measure, be to conspire with him in his gross and unparalleled imposition upon the inhabitants of this island.

But before I proceed to draw aside the veil which Mr. B——r hath so artfully thrown around his character, it may not be improper to quote some passages from the preface to his history; a preface which was circulated throughout the kingdom, above a year before the work itself appeared, being intended as a specimen of what Protestants might expect, from an author who maketh the following declarations.

‘ The work which I now offer to the public, I undertook some years since at *Rome*:—as I was then a most zealous champion of the popes supremacy, which was held as an article of faith by the body I belonged to, my chief design when I engaged in such a work, was to ascertain that supremacy.—But alas! I soon perceived that I had undertaken more than it was in my power to perform.—In spite then of my endeavours to the contrary, reason getting the better of the strongest prejudices,—I became a proselyte to the opinion which I had proposed to confute, and sincerely abjured in my mind that which I had ignorantly undertaken to defend (c).’ And again :

(c) The following observations, from the *Douay* pamphlet are remarkable. ‘ Mr. Bower tells us in his preface, that he began a history of the popes in *Rome*, and had carried it down to the close of the second century; but that whilst he wrote to maintain their supremacy, he discovered it to be a chimerical prerogative, unknown in the primitive ages.

again : “ I no sooner found myself in a country *where*  
 ‘ *truth might be uttered without danger*, than I resolved  
 ‘ to resume and pursue, in my native tongue, as  
 ‘ soon as I recovered the use of it, the work I had  
 ‘ begun in a foreign language.—If it shall please  
 ‘ heaven to second my undertaking, so far as to alarm  
 ‘ by it those protestants (I wish I might not say those  
 ‘ many Protestants) who are not aware, nor sufficiently  
 ‘ guarded against the crafty insinuations, the secret  
 ‘ views and attempts of the *papal emissaries*, I shall  
 ‘ think the time and pains it cost me abundantly  
 ‘ paid.’

These and many other declarations equally warm,  
 which may be seen in Mr. B——r’s preface, being  
 considered, and the story of his escape, as related by  
 himself, being attended to, it will, no doubt, at first  
 sight, be thought to be a malicious and improbable  
 falsehood, to affirm of this *zealous* advocate for the  
 Protestant religion, *whose reason had got the better of*  
*the strongest prejudices while he was still in Italy* ; that,  
 after he had been near twenty years in *England*, a  
 country *where truth might be uttered without danger*,  
 and where nothing could hinder him to make a pub-  
 lic profession of that *opinion to which he had become a*

*ages. I became a proselyte to the opinion, &c.* — Had this  
 ‘ been true, it must have happened whilst he lived in *Rome* a  
 ‘ student. And he must have been actually a Protestant in  
 ‘ his heart, when he made his last vows among the *Jesuits*,  
 ‘ continued some years saying the breviary and mass every  
 ‘ day, honoring the saints, professing, teaching, and defending  
 ‘ the *pope’s* supremacy, and the other tenets of the catholic  
 ‘ faith, nay, as he tells us, in the title of this work, de-  
 ‘ fending it by being himself a member of the *bloody inqui-*  
 ‘ *sition*. We are told in the account of his escape, ascribed  
 ‘ to him, *that the cruelties of that court first opened his eyes,*  
 ‘ *and made him resolve to renounce a religion in which they*  
 ‘ *were practised*. I confess I cannot see what subtilty can  
 ‘ reconcile these accounts together, much less make them  
 ‘ consistent with the true notorious circumstances of his  
 ‘ coming over.”

*proselyte*



*profelyte* before his arrival amongst us, that he still kept up an intimacy and correspondence with his brethren the *Jesuits*, and a correspondence of such a nature, as would give us reason to despise him as the disguised papist, or rather the abandoned profligate.

Malicious and improbable as this accusation may appear to be, the following account will put the truth of it beyond all probability, nay, indeed, beyond all possibility, of doubt.

There are now in the possession of Sir H——ry B——ld of Ox——b in N——lk, the most authentic proofs of this assertion: for, surely, nothing can be more authentic than letters written by himself to *Father Skeldon*, Provincial of the *Jesuits* in *England*. How difficult it will be to reconcile Mr. B——r abjuring popery in his mind while he was still at *Rome*, and amazing the inhabitants of *Great-Britain* with a wonderful tale of his escape from the *Inquisition*, with Mr. B——r writing submissive and penitential letters to his superiors the *Provincial* of the *Jesuits* in *England*, and the *General* of the whole *Order* at *Rome*, will appear from a perusal of the letters in question, *Six in number*, copies of which I have been able to procure; and which I have thought it my duty to make *public*, and to illustrate and confirm by collateral evidences, and authentic facts, which have come to my knowledge; that so the world in general may receive that full satisfaction, which private examination hath already given to particular persons who have had access to inquire into the particulars of this *strange transaction*, and whose inquiries, without being biassed by prejudice, or animated by resentment, have had no other end in view, but the discovery of the truth.

But before I gratify the curiosity of the reader with a perusal of letters so remarkable as these must be, it will be necessary to premise some particulars, which, by fixing the dates, and explaining names of persons, may throw some light upon a transaction, which, from



from the nature of it, cannot but be attended with obscurities, when inquired into by those, who, unconnected equally with Mr. B—r and the representatives of the *Jesuits*, must have had many difficulties to struggle with, in arriving at the knowledge of the facts before us.

The two first, of the *six letters* being without any date at all, it will be very material to observe, from the following facts, that they could not be prior to the year 1745. — As they are written to Father *Sheldon*, in his character as the Superior of the *Order* in this country, this will bring them down at least to the time of his entering upon that office. Now, upon inquiry, I find that *Father Sheldon* did not arrive in *England*, to act as Provincial, till after the death of *Father Skirburn*, his predecessor in that office, and with whom also it will appear, by and by, that Mr. B—r had very *important* dealings. *Father Skirburn* died on the 5th of *January* 1744; and it was not till some time after, that his successor arrived in *England*. The correspondence, therefore, between *Sheldon* and B—r did not begin before 1745. Nay, we may be pretty certain that it did not begin till towards the close of that year; perhaps not till the beginning of the next. This I collect from the following circumstances. Mr. *Sheldon*, as I have been informed, resided constantly in *London* for several months after his arrival in *England*; and as *London* hath also been the usual place of Mr. B—r's residence, it is not, in the least, probable, that they should correspond by letter upon an affair, which, from the nature of it, could best be transacted by meeting together in company. But what putteth it beyond all doubt, that the correspondence did not commence till the close of 1745, at soonest, is this circumstance, that, at the time when it was carried on, Mr. *Sheldon* passed under the name of *Elliot Brown*; which direction is upon two of the letters. Some time after the breaking out of the rebellion, which was in the latter part of the year 1745, a warrant  
being

being issued out by the secretary of state to apprehend *Sheldon*, on suspicion of treasonable practices ; he narrowly escaped being taken at his lodging in *Little Wyld Street Lincolns Inn-Fields*, where his papers were all seized ; and retired to the country seat of his nephew Mr. *Sheldon*, at *Weston in Warwickshire*, passing under the name of *Elliot Brown*. I am informed that Mr. *B---* was not so far trusted by his provincial as to be made acquainted with the place of his retreat ; but that the correspondence passed through the hands of one Mr. *Elliot*, a *Jesuit*, and near relation of *Sheldon*, and who had been appointed to act as his deputy. This may partly be collected from one of the letters, where mention is made of this Mr. *Elliot*, as one from whom *B---* expected *Sheldon's* answer. Certain it is, from the very look of the letters, that they passed through a third hand ; the direction, which is upon two of them, being very different from Mr. *B---*'s writing, who must have sent or given his letters (*f*) *undirected*, to this Mr. *Elliot*, or some other person.

Having thus, with some degree of exactness, brought down the commencement of *B---*'s correspondence with Father *Sheldon*, to the end of 1745, or the beginning of 1746, it may be necessary also to premise, that the Mr. *Retz*, who is mentioned in them, was, at that time, *the General of the Jesuits* ; there being always one, who, under that title, hath the direction of the affairs of the *Order*, residing constantly at *Rome*, and exercising an absolute power over every member of the society, in every part of the world. His deputies, in the several countries,

(*f*) If Mr. *B.* put no direction at all, upon any of the letters in question, this circumstance, which the reader is desired to take notice of, might furnish our *Jesuit* skilled in all the art of casuistical reservation, with a pretence for declaring, as he hath done in his advertisement, and in a more solemn paper, *that he never did hold correspondence with Sheldon, either in his own or any feigned name.*

or,

or, as they call them, PROVINCES, where there are *Jesuits* appointed to SERVE, have the name of PROVINCIALS, from whom any Father of the Order, who thinketh himself aggrieved, may appeal to the GENERAL at *Rome*; who is consulted in all cases of great consequence. These particulars, will throw some light upon Father B --- r's letters to Father *Sheldon*, his provincial, both of them here in *England*. There are only two other persons named in the letters; Mr. *Elliot*, whom I have already mentioned, who is still alive, but so far off as *Rome*; and Mr. *Carteret*, successor to Father *Sheldon*, as provincial in *England*, who tho' dead (g), lived long enough, as the reader will observe before I have done, to disclose secrets, which the historian of the *Popes* never intended to trust to Protestant ears. — The letters shall now follow, copied, as I have been informend with the utmost exactness, from the originals (h).

(g) Father *Sheldon*, after the expiration of his authority as Provincial in *England*, retired to *Rome*, in the year 1750, or 1751, and died, Rector of the *English* College there, on the 1st of January 1756. Father *Carteret* died Provincial, at *London* in March last.

(h) Three of the letters being without date, the order in which they ought to be read, can be discovered only by an attentive perusal of them; and, I believe, most of my readers will be of opinion, that my arrangement of them is the true one.



## FIRST LETTER.

I write this on the last day of my retreat (\*) in which I have endeavoured to confirm myself still more in my former, I hope, unalterable resolutions. But, dear Sir, I distrust my own weakness, and tremble when I reflect on the severe trials I must again undergo. To avoid them, I have thought of the following expedient, which, if you don't approve of, yet you will, I hope, forgive me for offering it, and ascribe the trouble I give you to the entire confidence I place in you. The expedient is, to make over to me part of the sum that is owing to you, which I find you cannot easily recover. I should immediately transfer it to the woman, who would, in a very short time, find means to recover it, and allow me my so much wished-for liberty. This would make me completely happy; but *non mea voluntas, sed tua fiat*, for that, I am sure, is the will of him who disposes and ordains all things for our good. I have received a letter from Mr. Carteret, in Mr. Retz's name, who desires to know what province will be most to my satisfaction. If I could be any ways serviceable here, I should be glad to shew my gratitude for the many favors I have received. I leave you to judge whether or no I am fit to serve here, and to write your thoughts to Mr. Retz. As for myself, I shall name no place to him, but submit myself entirely to his will; for I am now, thank God, quite indifferent

(\*) A retreat, in the language of the *Roman Catholics*, means a retirement from the world, for a certain number of days, such as a person's own zeal shall prompt him to, or his superiors and director shall enjoin by way of penance. It doth not appear from the letter, which of these was the case, when Mr. B ---- made his retreat; but Mr. Carteret hath told several persons, that the retreat was enjoined by order of Mr. Retz. On either supposition, this circumstance is, in itself, a very solemn proof of B ----'s professing himself to be a *Roman Catholic*; but a very inconsiderable one, when compared with what followeth afterwards in this Letter.

different as to places, and am well persuaded that what place shall be thought by you or by him the most proper, will be the most proper. I shall conclude this letter with begging you to forgive the trouble, and to assure yourself that I want nothing so much as an opportunity to shew by my actions and conduct how sincerely I am,

Dear Sir,

*Your most obedient humble Servant,*

A. B.

## SECOND LETTER;

Directed in a different Hand to *Mr. Elliot Brown*; and indorsed, *Answered July 17th.* <sup>(b)</sup>

Dear Sir,

**A**S your having kept so long, and your continuing to keep me in this unhappy situation, tho' at this present time you have it in your power to deliver me from it, leaves me no room to expect any relief from you, I think myself obliged to apply to Mr. *Retz* and lay my case before him. This step, however necessary, I would not take without acquainting you before hand with it. Dear Sir, I reposed an entire confidence in you, and am greatly concerned to find myself, in an affair of such infinite consequence, thus disappointed. But as it was my duty so to do, that, I hope, will justify me, and at the same time procure me strength to withstand the dangers, to which you leave me exposed, till I receive an answer

<sup>(b)</sup> As this letter was answered on the 17th of *July*, we may fix the date of it to be very near that day, as it is not to be supposed that *Sheldon* would defer answering what he appears, from the following letter, to have resented highly, viz. *B---r's* threatening to complain to Mr. *Retz*, the General of the Order. The year is indisputably 1746.

B

from

from our common friend, who, I am confident, will pity my case, and find some means to deliver me from my present unhappy situation. Excuse the trouble.

I am.

Your most obedient humble Servant,

A. B.

P. S.

The money being now ready and your consent alone wanting, as I shall write to Mr. Retz; I wish you would at the same time let him know upon what motive you refuse it, or let me know it, that he (I) may acquaint him with it, if you are not at leisure to write.

### THIRD LETTER,

Preserved entire; directed to *Mr. Elliott Brown at Weston Warwickshire, by Chipping Norton bag; with the Post mark upon it. The direction a different hand.*

July 24, 1746.

Dear Sir,

I Return you thanks for your *paternal admonition* (\*), and own that I deserved to be treated with more severity

(\*) A proper expression from a penitent Jesuit to an offended superior. Mr. Sheldon's severity was, no doubt, occasioned by the second letter, in which B - - - r threatens him with a complaint to Mr. Retz, for refusing the money. B - - - r also having, in that letter, said *at this present time you have it in your power to deliver me &c.* and again, *the money being now ready, and your consent alone wanting, as I shall write Mr. Retz;* it is probable that Sheldon looked upon this as a charge brought against him, of having told a falsehood about the money. For it appears from the first letter, that he had given it as a reason to Mr. B - - - why they could not return



verity than your charity and goodness have allowed  
 you to use. My impatience and earnest desire of  
 being delivered at once from my present most heavy  
 tribulation, transported me beyond the bounds of my  
 duty, and prompted me to write in a manner very  
 unbecoming one who can plead nothing for himself  
 but pure charity and compassion. Dear Sir, if repen-  
 tance can repair a fault, I do assure you I am hearti-  
 ly sorry for what I have done, and most humbly beg  
 your pardon, which I hope you will grant me, not-  
 withstanding the just provocation my ingratitude may  
 have given you. I rely entirely upon you; in you  
 alone, after God, I put all my confidence; and there-  
 fore shall from you alone expect my deliverance.  
 The woman with her child is turned upon my hands;  
 I am obliged to visit her frequently; she often pres-  
 ses me either to keep her company, as I did before,  
 or return her the money; and I find it a very dif-  
 ficult task to keep her in humor without doing either.  
 Dear Sir, as I am not insensible, the temptation is  
 great; I am afraid of myself, and have, I assure you,  
 shed many tears in reflecting on my dangerous situ-  
 ation. But it is no worse than I deserve, and there-  
 fore I have no reason to complain. I shall strive to  
 bear my tribulation chearfully till it pleases God to  
 deliver me from it. I thank you for your kind re-  
 gard to me in writing to Mr. Retz. I shall write to  
 him this week, as you desire, to beg his pardon, and  
 acquaint him with the sincerity of my intentions. As  
 your Letter has given me great concern, I shall be  
 very uneasy till I hear from you. If you abandon  
 me I am quite undone; but the goodness you have  
 hitherto shewn me makes me believe you never

return the money to him, that *there was a sum owing to them  
 which they could not easily recover.* This seems to be the pro-  
 vocation which had drawn upon B - - - r the paternal admo-  
 nition of his Provincial.

will, notwithstanding the provocation I have given you; for which I again ask your pardon, sincerely wishing it were in my power to atone for it. I am,

Dear Sir,

*Your most obedient humble Servant,*

A. B.

---

F O U R T H L E T T E R.

*Richmond 24. October 1746.*

Dear Sir,

**I**T is with the deepest sense of gratitude that I return you my most hearty thanks for the great pains you have taken to deliver me from my present most unhappy situation. Your charitable and good natured endeavours have not, to my great concern, been attended with success; but to you I am no less obliged than if they had, and I shall ever most gratefully acknowledge this obligation. As I am fully convinced from what you have done that you will omit nothing in your power to relieve me as soon as you can, it would be needless to recommend to you an affair, which you have already so much at heart. I shall therefore only add, that I repose an entire confidence in your goodness and charity; and that in spite of the present most severe trials, and of any thing that can happen, I am determined, I hope unalterably, to keep my former resolution, till being set at liberty by your means, I shall have the much wished for opportunity of shewing my gratitude more by my actions than by words. In the mean time,

I am,

Dear Sir,

*Your most obedient humble Servant,*

A. B.

FIFTH LETTER.

London, 14 March 1747. (d)

Dear Sir,

IF you had thought fit to make over to me part of the sum that is owing to you, I should have taken no step towards the recovery of it, but what you approved of, and none at all, if you did not approve of it. I chiefly wanted to satisfy the woman and her relations by shewing them the conveyance, and thereby purchase a little quiet; it not being by any means proper to shew them what I now have. Dear Sir, you cannot conceive the distress I am in at this present time; and, what is worst of all, I begin now to despair, being very confident that the person, who owes the sum to you, never designed to pay it, nor ever will pay it, unless forced by law. But the whole I refer and entirely submit to your judgment. You need not take the trouble of answering my letter, I often see Mr. *Elliot*, and from him I shall know your sentiments. Forgive this trouble, and believe me most sincerely

*Your most obliged humble Servant,*

**A. B.**

(4) This must be March 1746-7.

## SIXTH LETTER.

London. (c)

Dear Sir,

DESPAIR and constant vexation have at length got the better of all my good resolutions; I could no longer withstand a temptation, which I could

(c) The contents of this letter fix its date pretty nearly :  
B 3 for



could by no means avoid, and therefore have consented to take the woman again, and live with her, as I did before, till I shall be able to satisfy her just demands. It was with the greatest reluctance and remorse that I took such a step, and should never have taken it, had I had but the least prospect or hopes of relief. You know I proposed all the expedients I could think of; and nothing but your zeal and good nature could have bore with me so long, which I shall always gratefully remember and acknowledge. The last expedient would have quieted both the woman and her relations, for they only wanted some security for the money; would have saved me from utter ruin, and could not possibly be attended with any evil consequences, since I should never have given the least trouble to that person without your knowledge and consent: in short, had you not disapproved of it, I should have thought that nothing could have been objected against it; but as you did, it would have been impertinent in me to press it any farther. As for that person's paying you, dear Sir, it is but too plain she never intended it, and this is what has quite disheartened me, as on that all my hopes of relief was founded. I do not pretend to justify the step I have taken; God forbid I should: but the reluctance with which I have taken it, my suffering so much and so long before I took it, and my having tried all possible means of avoiding the danger, will, I hope, in some degree, extenuate my guilt

for it was previous to his taking a step which would put an end to his correspondence with *Jesuits*. The publication of his proposals and preface so full of protestant zeal, was such a step; and they bear date, on the printed copy, March 25, 1747. This date, I suppose, was in the MS. sent to the press; so that if we allow a week or ten days for the printing, we may fix the publication of *B---r's* intention of being the champion of protestantism to the beginning of April 1747; and consequently, between that time, and the preceding 14th of March, was this farewell letter written,

guilt (<sup>r</sup>). And now, dear Sir, in the first place I heartily pray God to reward you for your pious, but, to my unspeakable misfortune, unsuccessful endeavours; you have done all that lay in your power to relieve me; and I shall always remember and acknowledge it. In the next place, with tears in my eyes I take my leave of you; for this first step will in a short time be followed by another, which must put an end to our correspondence. I must repair the crying injustice I have done to an innocent child, and to a woman that has shewn the greatest regard and tenderness for me even in my distress, and in order to that accept the advantageous offer now made me by my friends.

Having thus laid open to you, as my best friend, my present situation, without the least disguise, I hope you will remember me in your *best thoughts*, that I may not hereafter refuse what at present I so much wish for, should it be ever in your power, or any body's else to relieve me (<sup>s</sup>). Persuade yourself, dear Sir, tho' you should never hear from me again, that

I am, and ever shall be, most sincerely

*Your most obliged humble Servant &c.*

Tho'

(<sup>r</sup>) What can one think of a Divine (for Mr. B---r, a *Jesuit* in full orders, hath a right to this title, tho' he modestly declineth it for that of Esquire) who hopes that what aggravates the guilt of all other sinners, will extenuate his?---namely, his committing crimes deliberately, with his eyes open, and against his own conviction?

(<sup>s</sup>) It will be impossible to affix any meaning to this part of the letter, unless we suppose that Mr. B. intimates to his correspondent, that tho' he be, at present, obliged *with Reluctance and Remorse* to take a step that will put an end to their correspondence, he will, nevertheless return to his duty, should Father *Sheldon* or any other person make him suitable proposals. And with no other view but this,

Tho' I have consented to take the woman again, yet I am under no obligation of performing my promise till I hear from you. As for the place, it will be a fortnight before the patent is made out. I heartily wish it were in your power to make me easy in that time, and prevent the impending ruin. <sup>(h)</sup>

could he desire to be remembered in the Jesuit's *best thoughts*, or prayers.

<sup>(h)</sup> This postscript is worthy of our notice. For, besides presenting us with a very remarkable specimen of B --'s *Jesuitical casuistry*, when he says, *tho I have consented to take the woman again, yet I am under no obligation of performing my promise*; we may observe that he calls his breach with the *Jesuits, impending ruin*; and tells Father Sheldon, if he could make him easy within a fortnight (I suppose by repaying his money to him) this *impending ruin* might be prevented,



IN these letters we have a very remarkable specimen of the absolute subjection and submission of *Jesuits* to their superiors; and it will be obvious to any one who peruses them with attention, that the writer drives at one single object, of which he never loses sight, the recovery of a sum of money. But besides this transaction, which runs through all the six letters, it appears from the *first*, that Mr. *Carteret* had been negotiating with the General of the Order about appointing *B.* to act as a missionary in some *Province* or other: *I have received a letter from Mr. Carteret in Mr. Retz's name, desiring to know what Province would be most to my Satisfaction.* From which words it should seem that Mr. *Retz* gave Mr. *B.* his choice of any province, except that of *England*. But it is easy to perceive, amidst all our Letter-writer's affected indifference as to places, that no other province but that of *England* would have been agreeable to him. Why else should he say, *if I could be any ways serviceable here I should be glad to shew my gratitude for the many favors I have received?* Doth it not appear from this that he would have looked upon his being appointed to serve in the *English* province, as a favor? And if he did not mean that his correspondent should recommend him *as fit to serve here*, why doth he desire him to write his thoughts upon that subject, to Mr. *Retz*? And the reasons why Mr. *B.* should prefer the *English* province are as obvious as they were prudential. After twenty years enjoyment of *English* liberty and *English* plenty, he could not but be unwilling to quit this scene for *Italian* subjection, and confinement in a college, where he might be obliged to fast without any liking to abstinence, and to pray tho' his heart was a stranger to devotion. Besides, while he continued in *England*, he was certain his former irregularities, which had brought him here first, could not be punished, in case his superiors should not be hearty in their forgiveness of him; and, therefore, it was no wonder

that,

that, to one in his situation, the province of *England* should be most desirable.

Here, then, we may observe a very surprizing instance of the basest hypocrisy. That very person who, in 1747, *hopes to alarm those many Protestants who are not aware, nor sufficiently guarded against the crafty insinuations, the secret views and attempts of the papal emissaries*, as we read in his preface, but a little while before, most probably not a year, offers, with the most abject submission and earnestness, his service to the General of the *Jesuits* to be, himself, one of those *Emissaries*!

Nor will it be any apology for him, to urge that he writes in such a style, to the *Jesuits*, only to get his money out of their hands, being, all the while, a sincere convert to the Protestant religion. For, admitting that, when he corresponded with *Sheldon*, there was no *Popery* in his heart, we must admit that there was the vilest dissimulation and the meanest treachery. But tho' I should admit that he may be supposed capable of writing penitential letters to Father *Sheldon* without believing any *one Papish tenet*, in order to get his money back, where was his *Protestantism* when he lent it, as we shall find by and bye, to *Father Shirkburn*? And how will he reconcile his accepting of an annuity from the society of *Jesuits*, within these fourteen or fifteen years, with his having joined in communion with the church of *England*, upwards of twenty four years?

This money transaction between the *Historian of the Popes*, and his brethren the *Jesuits*, being only mentioned as subsisting, but the nature of it not being explained, in the letters; that I may clear up the end and intention of the correspondence, it will be necessary to relate this *mysterious affair* as it really happened, which will not only dispell the obscurities under which it will be left if we confine ourselves to the letters themselves, but which will also be a sort of key to the conduct and views of the writer; of whom I shall now be obliged to mention such particulars, as will place him

him in a very different light from that, in which he hath held himself out to the Protestant inhabitants of *Great-Britain*. And I desire that no farther credit may be given to the facts which I shall relate, than as they shall be authenticated by proofs too stubborn to be invalidated by all the sophistry which can be displayed by low cunning when it hath credulity and ignorance to work upon.

One of the most remarkable epochs of our Hero being his arrival in *England*, it will be proper to fix its date. But in doing this, I own that I am at a loss; for as this is a fact known best to Mr. *B.* himself, and as I find him varying in his accounts of it, at different times, the reader cannot expect that I should be able to point out the time when he spoke the truth. In the MS. account of *B.*—'s escape, in the handwriting of an eminent Divine, and which I have already mentioned, he tells us, that he landed at *Dover* on the eleventh of *July* 1732. But since he gave this date, he has refreshed his memory, and now we are told, that he arrived either in *June* or in *July* 1726. For my own part, I have been informed, that he might, if he had pleased, fixed this date in 1725. But as I assert nothing which I cannot confirm by real evidence, I shall only observe that I can trace our *Historian* back, in this country, so far as 1727; in which year, if his memory doth not fail him, he must recollect that he used to be in company, here in *London*, with one *Gordon*, a *papist* priest (still alive, and at present chaplain to *Lady Perib*) and that at the same time he frequented the lodgings of the *Provincial of the Jesuits*, he himself lodging next door. (a). With what views he continued such connexions,

(a) A gentleman, now in *London*, assures me, that he saw *B.* in *May* 1727, at *Gordon's* lodgings in *Little Wylt-Street*. The *Provincial of the Jesuits*, at that time, lodged in



nexions, or lodged in such a Quarter, after his arrival in this country, he himself can best tell. This at least is certain, that such a conduct was not that which we might expect from one, who, if his account of his motives for coming into this country was true, would naturally have shunned all popish connexions, and taken the first opportunity of publickly renouncing and abjuring that religion, whose tenets he now pretends that he even then looked upon as *impious and beretical*. But, so far as I have been able to learn, he doth not even say that he ever made any such renunciation (*b*) in form.—While he passed, sometimes for what he

in the same Street, at the house of Mrs. *Fleetwood*, aunt to Mr. *Fleetwood* of *Drury-Lane Play-house*. This house is on the opposite side of the way to that where *Gordon* lodged, and *B - - - r* was seen by the gentleman from whom I have my information, knock at that door; and upon asking *Gordon* who lived there, he was told it was the lodging of the Provincial of the *Jesuits*. *Gordon* at the same time said, that *B - - - r* had told him he was a *Jesuit* and was going upon the mission to *Scotland*. But Mr. *B - - - r*'s visits to his Provincial and other priests shall be confirmed by other proofs besides this.

(*b*) To do *B - - - r* justice on this point, I must own that I have heard, that to some of his friends he hath said that he abjured the errors of popery upon his arrival in *England*, to Dr. *Aspinwall*. I hope for his own sake, this is not true; because to mention his acquaintance and connexion with Dr. *Aspinwall*, will never serve any purpose, but to confirm the charge brought against him. Dr. *Edward Aspinwall*, had originally been a *Jesuit*; but, upon giving what bishop *Gibson* thought to be satisfactory proof of the sincerity of his conversion, he was, by the patronage of that learned and worthy prelate, made prebendary of *Westminster*, and sub-dean of the *King's Chapel*. Thus honored, as a sincere convert to the Church of *England*, Dr. *Aspinwall* died on the 3d of *August* 1732, a faithful son of the Church of *Rome*. This fact was notorious at the time, and Mrs. *Aspinwall* made no secret of her husband's dying sentiments, and, being a good Protestant, would not permit a Priest to administer

he really was, a *Jesuit*, at other times, when his character of Priest would have been an incumbrance, he assumed the title of *Knight of Malta* (c); with Protestants he aimed at no higher merit, than to be looked upon as a *Freetinker* (d); a character indeed very

cor-

administer *Extreme Unction* to the Doctor, who desired it. I should be sorry to find that Mr. B - - - r acquainted no other Divine of the *English Church* with his abjuration of *Popery*. But I am much more sorry to find, that, not many months ago, Mr. B - - - r told a very worthy Divine of high rank in our Church, with whose friendship he hath been honored, that he himself, and Mr. *Barton*, then curate of *St. Ann's* (but who had also been a *Popish* priest) attended Dr. *Aspinwall* during his last illness. I fear that by this declaration Mr. B - - - r will encrease the suspicions which had been entertained before by many concerning his own faith, without convincing any one, as he intended it should, that *Aspinwall* did not die a papist. I shall only add, that it is well known that the *Astericks* which now stand in Dr. *Middleton's* Letter to Mr. *Venn*, in the first volume of the octavo edition of the Dr's works, p. 421. were filled up, in the MS. with some remarks on *Aspinwall's* return to popery.

(c) The reader shall hear more of this in the proper place.

(d) B - - - r's own friends seem to admit that his religious principles, after he came into *England*, will not bear examination. In *February* last a friend of mine was told by one who, I suppose, had his information from B - - - r himself, that upon his coming to *England* he waited upon bishop *Gibson*, to acquaint him that tho' he had left his own religion, he was not as yet determined as to the opinions to be substituted in its stead. It was the expression of another of his friends, about the same time, that B - - - r's mind was a *Tabula rasa*, as to religious principles, for several years after his arrival in this country. Mr. B - - - r, therefore, cannot complain of my injuring him by the appellation of *Freetinker*, as it seems to be a point not disputed that he himself to his friends hath dated his conversion to Christianity, to be many years posterior to his renouncing of *Popery*. Were it necessary, instances of his impious buffoonry, and mockery of our holy religion, even publicly in Booksellers shops, could be assigned.

correspondent to his conduct as a *Free-Liver* (e). Admitted into the family of *Lord A—r* as a Companion to his lordship, and afterwards into that of *Colonel T—n* as tutor to his son, in that circle of Protestant connexions, he could give full scope to his *inventive faculty*, entertain the company with the cruelties of the Inquisition, his own escape from it, and the continual dangers to which he was exposed by the attempts of *Papish* emissaries. And yet, at the

assigned. I shall only mention one instance. Tho' it be one of this worthy person's talents to accommodate his discourse and principles to the company in which he happeneth to be, he unfortunately made a gross mistake at the house of a Gentleman in the country. The profane raillery, uttered by him there, upon his seeing some paintings representing gospel histories, surprised as much as it shocked the very worthy proprietor; who gave this as a reason (and a good reason to so good a man) upon being applied to, before the publication of the *History of the Popes*, why he would not encourage that work, by *soliciting* subscriptions for the author; rightly judging, that no honor could be done to the *Protestant* cause by such a champion.

(e) Mr. B—r, far from concealing his irregularities, used to glory in them. Amongst other stories, he hath frequently entertained his companions with an account of his being met coming out of a house of civil reception in the regions of *Covent-Garden*, by an acquaintance who asked him, Mr. B—r, is this your *Roman History*? When we consider that he was, at least, forty years of age before he came to *England*, and that he did not begin to write the *Roman History* till several years after; to find him, so late in life, thus revelling in brothels, and glorying in his shame, giveth us no very favourable notion of the regularity of his conduct. Perhaps he was endeavouring to make amends for the time that he had lost in the college of *Macerata*; where, it seems, he could find no means of gratifying his *amorous* inclinations, but by making an experiment, which proved fatal to him. The History of this, already hinted at in a quotation from his remarker, shall be more particularly mentioned before I conclude.

same



same time, he did not seem to apprehend much real danger from them, otherwise he would not have kept up an intimacy with any of them, nor associated with *Romish* priests in general, and priests of his own order in particular, not only by visiting them at their lodgings; but by discoursing with them daily, when he was in town, at their common *Rendezvous*, the shop of Mr. Lewis the bookseller in Ruffel-Street Covent-Garden (f).

Frequent as Mr. B. was 'in his visits to the Provincial of the *jesuits*, from the time of his coming to *England*, it is not insinuated as if he had been an emissary then trusted and employed by the Order. The truth seems to be, he was fonder of associating with his old friends, than they were of associating with him. And the reason is plain,—he had not come into *England* after throwing off his Order on account of any scruples of conscience, but after his Order had thrown off him on account of irregularities in his conduct. His associating therefore with priests and *jesuits* could be with no other view, but to have his past offences pardoned. For by thus paying his court, and by his attachment to the catholic religion, for the sincerity of which he could appeal to the laudable endeavours which he made use to bring over (g) some Protestants to the *Romish communion*, he was in hopes of being able to appease his offended superiors.

(f) Mr. Lewis's character as an honest, worthy man, is so well established, that his evidence as to this point must be decisive. Such company, and such a place of resort, agreed but very ill with B. - - r's professions to Protestants; and Martin Folkes Esq; the late worthy president of the *Royal Society*, who, by frequenting Tom's Coffee-House, had often seen our Convert thus engaged, below stairs, used to express his suspicions of our Historian's character, from this circumstance, and subscribed to his History merely because it was fashionable to do so.

(g) This remarkable fact shall be properly authenticated.

But

But whether, notwithstanding all these marks of zeal, his superiors saw grounds for suspecting his sincerity, or whether the scandal which his conduct in *Italy* had brought upon the Order, made them cautious of receiving again into their body one, who, to gratify his passions, had already made no scruple to break his vows; or whether his irregular life, and inconsistent behaviour after his coming into *England*, had prejudiced those against him, from whom he sued for favour; whatever was the reason; the penitent negotiated about being re-admitted into his order, for several years, without success.—At length, in the year 1741, he had recourse to a method which he thought would remove all obstructions to the point at which he aimed.

By writing, for the booksellers, in the *Universal history* (b), by his situation in the families of *Lord A.* and *Colonel T.* and by his labours as a teacher of *Italian*, he had saved a considerable sum of money. To give the *Jesuits*, therefore, a satisfactory proof (as indeed it really was) that he was sincere in his desire to be re-admitted into the order, he made a proposal to *Father Shirburn*, who was then the Provincial in *England*, to give up to him, as representative of the society, this money, upon condition of being paid for it, during his life, an annuity, at the rate of seven *per. cent.*

This offer being accepted, on the twenty first of *August* 1741, he paid to *Father Shirburn*, eleven hundred pounds. Six months after, on the 27th of *February* 1742, he paid to the same person One hundred and fifty pounds more, upon the same conditions. Nor did his confidence in the security given him by his order stop here, but on the 6th of *August* 1743, he added another hundred pounds to the above sums, now augmented to one thousand three hundred and fifty pounds;

(b) The Roman history in that work is his.

when

when the several annuities were reduced into one of 94 *l.* 10 *s.* to commence from the 27<sup>th</sup> of the same month, for which he had a bond.—A transaction of such a nature, entered into with so much deliberation, there being two years between the first and the last payment, could not but give the *Jesuits* hopes that the strayed sheep was returned to the fold. Indeed there seems no reason to suspect that Mr. B. was not sincere in his professions of submission at the time when he accepted of this annuity. Whether conscience had any share in influencing his endeavours to regain the confidence of his order, is known only to himself: but, certainly, his interest visibly prompted him to take such a step. He was now declining in life, and, after being in *England* a great many years, he had, as yet, gained no connexions that had procured him any settlement, and his subsistence depended upon the slavish employment of writing for book-sellers, and his uncertain gains as a language-master to ladies. What object, therefore, could be so desirable to a person in his circumstances, and happily disengaged from religious prejudices, as to regain the protection and confidence of a body of men who had it in their power to make him *easy* and *happy*, the rest of his days? Upon being reconciled to his order, he had reason to hope that the public purse of the society might be open to him, as well as to other members of it, and that his income might be augmented by the addition of a salary as a missionary in this country, where it was his inclination to dwell. Mr. B's money transaction with *Father Shirburn*, when viewed in this light, seems perfectly consistent with that prudent foresight so remarkable in his character. And it had such weight with some of his *Jesuit* acquaintances, that they were induced to recommend him to the general of the order as worthy of being re-admitted amongst them. This negotiation had the wished for effect, and *A. B. Esq;* was re-admitted, in a formal manner, into the order of *Jesus*, at *London*,



don, about the end of the year 1744, or the beginning of the year 1745 (1).

Whatever was the reason, whether Mr. B. found that tho' his superiors had consented to readmit him as a *Jesuit*, they did not care to trust him as a *missionary* here in *England*, but insisted upon his going abroad; or whether, having at length had the good fortune to insinuate himself into the good graces of a *powerful* friend, he began to have a prospect of advancing his *interest* more, by declaring himself a *protestant*, than by being a *Popish emissary*; whatever, I say, was the reason (perhaps both the above-mentioned operated) it should seem that when he began his correspondence with *Father Sbeldon*, in those letters, which have been placed before the reader, he had come to a *final* resolution of making a second breach of his vows, which he had, but a year or two before, solemnly renewed. At least, this must appear certain, from a perusal of the letters, that the single object which he hath in view in writing them, is to induce *Sbeldon*, who, as successor to *Father Shirburn* in the station of provincial, was his proper representative, to restore that money which had been put into his hands. For I can figure to myself no sufficient reason why he should press so strenuously to be released from a bargain of his own proposing, why he should make it so capital a point, to get his money back again from the *Jesuits*, if he himself had not resolved once more to throw off the *Cloak of a Jesuit*. If we apply this key, his conduct will be consistent—as

(k) The reader will hear more of this important transaction, and the proofs of it, before I finish this pamphlet. I shall only desire him at present to remark, that it never hath been charged to Mr. B's account that he was reconciled to the church of *Rome*; and for a good reason; because he had never renounced it. *His bare word*, therefore, might have satisfied us of this. But that he actually was reconciled to his order shall be proved by evidence, as convincing as the most *peremptory affidavit*.

consistent

consistent as the conduct of any one can be, who, invariable in the prosecution of what he looks upon as his immediate interest, *becomes all things to all men, that he may gain something*; a Papist to day, a Protestant to-morrow; again a Papist if it can serve a turn, and even a champion of Protestants, without being a Christian.

Mr. B's plan, then, when he wrote his letters to Father *Sbeldon*, seems to be this. The views and expectations in life, which he had got by *new connexions* with Protestants both able and willing to serve him, and other prudential motives, having *obliged* him to break off his renewed connexion with his Order, it was necessary he should do this with caution, that his exasperated brethren might not, if it were possible, have it in their power to hurt him. He had no security for his annuity of 94 *l.* 10 *s.* but a bond from the provincial of the *Jesuits*; and, perhaps, he was afraid, judging of the moral honesty of others, from what he experienced within himself, that upon his ceasing to profess himself a *Jesuit*, his annuity from the *Jesuits* would cease. Nor could he be so short-sighted as not to foresee that upon any such stop being made, an action at law, tho' it might recover his annuity, could not be had, unless he owned that he had connexions since his coming to *England*, which would be fatal to his pretensions, as a sincere convert from popery.—Or, admitting that there could be no danger of losing his annuity, he knew that to continue to receive it from the *Jesuits*, after having resolved to be a Protestant, would have a very ill aspect; and that he could never sign the receipt for his half-year's income, without meeting with *Jesuits* who were witnesses of his base dissimulation:—another witness perhaps, his own conscience, might also expect, upon such an occasion, to be heard.—Besides all this, it is likely that he had determined that the *change of his religion* (perhaps I should have said the change of his professions of religion) should be followed by a change in his condition; and, therefore, in order to

enable him to make a settlement on his future spouse, it became necessary that the money which he had sunk, in the hands of the *Jesuits*, for an annuity on his own life, should be recovered.

But what steps could Mr. B. take, in order to gain this point? Legal remedies, even tho his prudence would have permitted him to have recourse to them, could have given him no relief. For having parted with his money upon terms of his own choosing, and having consented to accept, in its stead, an annuity which had been paid to him for several years, he could have no foundation either in reason, or in law, to demand the repayment of it. Nothing remained, therefore, for him, but to endeavour to gain as a favour, what he could not demand as a right.

If we look to his letters to *Father Sbeldon*, we shall see him urging the repayment of his money, with the utmost art. He endeavours to raise compassion of his provincial by representing himself as unfortunately having had a criminal connexion with a woman; that the money which he had employed in purchasing of his annuity was her money; and that he was reduced to this alternative, by the importunity of the woman, *either to keep her company, as he did before, or return her the money.* To heighten the colourings of his distressed situation, a child is brought upon the stage; for he mentions *the woman and her child being turned upon his hands, and his being obliged to visit her frequently.* By this lamentable tale he hoped not only to raise the compassion, but to affect the conscience, of his superior, who, by refusing to return the money, *left him exposed to dangers which perhaps he had not strength to withstand.* For it is a very difficult task, says he, *to keep the woman in humour, without either keeping her company, or returning her the money; as I am not insensible, the temptation is great; I am afraid of myself, and I assure you that I shed many tears in reflecting on my dangerous situation.* — The *Jesuits* had lent B's money, and also an additional sum, to one Mrs. Hales,

at



at common interest. *She is spoken of in the letters as owing this money to them; and it should seem that Father Sbeldon had evaded B's demand, by representing that this lady, who owed the Jesuits the money, could not, at that time, repay them. B's however was not discouraged, but distrusting his own weakness, and trembling when he reflects on the severe trials which he again must undergo, to avoid them he takes occasion to make a proposal to his provincial. I have thought of the following expedient, says he; to make over to me part of the sum that is owing to you, which I find you cannot easily recover. I should immediately transfer it to the woman, who would in a short time find means to recover, it and allow me my so much wished for liberty.*

This, and every other expedient proposed by him, appears to have been rejected. And, perhaps, Father Sbeldon might be averse to give his consent, from the suspicions which he could not but entertain of B's intentions, and from the baseness which he could not but discover in his character. For what could he think of a Jesuit (now turned of 50) a Jesuit making *Retreats* in order to confirm himself in good resolutions; a Jesuit so submissive to his superiors as to have no will of his own, and to be quite indifferent as to places, threatening, as I may well call it, his superior to take the woman again and live with her as he did before, unless the superior will release him from a bargain which had been concluded on terms of his own choosing?—Or, again, supposing Mr. B's compassionate plea, that the money belonged to a woman, to be a true one (tho' it seems vastly more probable that the woman and her child existed no where but in his letters to the Jesuits, and were trumped up for the occasion, as probable means of inducing them to return the money) what could the provincial of the Jesuits (unless all Jesuits are as abandoned as Mr. B.) think of a priest and a Jesuit, purchasing with his whore's money, without her consent (as must be supposed) a life-rent, in his own name; and making this purchase

at a time when he pretended to be a contrite penitent, a prodigal son, returned to his Father, the General of the *Jesuits*?

Every art having proved unsuccessful, which Mr. B. had employed to get his money out of the hands of the *Jesuits*, before he threw off the mask, he at last takes his solemn farewell of them, as we read in the sixth letter; representing himself as having been obliged with the utmost *reluctance and remorse*, to consent to take the woman again, and to repair the crying injustice he had done to an innocent child, by accepting of a proposal made to him by his friends.—What this proposal was he doth not tell us; but by saying in his postscript, that it would be a fortnight before the patent was out, he gives his correspondent to understand, that a place had been offered him.—That any such offer was then made to him will, perhaps, and with reason, be looked upon as very doubtful, unless we have better authority for it, than the word of one whose whole life hath been a continual lie; and who, at the very time when he was writing submissive and penitential letters to his *Jesuit* superior, was planning, if not writing, his History of the Popes, under the direction of his *Protestant Patron*. But by thus hinting to *Father Shelden* that he was looked upon as a person of such importance, as to be tempted with the offer of a place to turn Protestant, he hoped that the fear of his complying with this offer, might prevail upon his correspondent to release him from his money bargain, which his pitiful tale of the woman and the child had not been able to do. He was disappointed, however, for the *Fortnight elapsed* without his being made easy, by the return of his money; and immediately upon this followed a step which could not but put an end to Mr. B.'s correspondence with *Jesuits*—I mean the publication of his proposals for the History of the Popes, with that remarkable preface so full of Protestant zeal, from which we have given some quotations.—The profits arising from a subscription for

power

powerfully ushered into the world, and recommended by so eminent an advocate as Mr. B. had; and the pleasing prospect of promised pensions, and places (promises not long after really fulfilled) were temptations not to be resisted by one who never acted the imprudent part of losing sight of his immediate interest. And no wonder that our *Historian* accepted of such proposals made to him by his Protestant friends, as he well knew that *Father Sheldon* the provincial of the *Jesuits* could not bid so high, nor serve him so effectually. And yet such is the modesty of the man, that in the preface to his history, he speaks of having sacrificed interest to conscience, and of having changed his religion at the expence of his fortune (*k*).

As the publication of the proposals and preface, about *April 1747*, put an end to Mr. B's correspondence with the *Jesuits*, so also did it put an end to his associating with the Papists and their Priests in general. For, about this time, he disappeared from Mr. *Lewis's* shop; rightly judging the impropriety of his continuing to frequent that place, now that he had declared himself the champion of the Protestants, where he had been known for many years in the very

(*k*) ' The protestations Mr. B - - r makes of sincerity are very solemn ! but these are an aggravation of hypocrisy, if the whole conduct and writings of the man give them the lie. He insists, in particular, how much he renounced his own interest by becoming a Protestant. - - - Every one knows that independence, marriage, a fortune in the world, and cheap applause, are often charms to a poor religious man who wants the spirit of his profession, which obliges him to live in obedience, austerity, and poverty, and who is incapable even of acquiring any thing to himself. Mr. B - - r makes a very confident appeal, when he says, *what I have forfeited by adhering to truth, most of the Roman Catholics in England know.* Those who know any thing of him are sensible what he has forfeited in some respects. But they easily see that liberty, a bedfellow, the figure and fortune of an esquire, and the favor of the Great, are a glittering exchange for the cloak of a poor, private *Jesuit*.' Remarks on the lives of the Popes, p. 23.

different



different character of a *Jesuit*, and where his constant companions had been *Jesuits* and *Priests*.

Having thus, a second time, broke with his *order*, he soon obtained, now that he had left it, what his *fawning*, and canting letters to Father *Sheldon*, while he was supposed to be one of themselves, had not been able to effect,—I mean the releasing him from his bargain, by repaying his money to him. Whether the *Jesuits* were picqued in honor to have no farther dealings with one, of whose baseness they had such proofs; or whether prudence dictated to them that it might be necessary draw a veil over their transactions in this kingdom, from a convert of Mr. *Bower's* character, which could not have been done, if they continued to pay him his annuity; what ever was their motive they determined to pay back that money, which could not have been legally demanded, if they had been inclined to keep it. Accordingly on the 20th. of *June* 1747, that is about two months after *Bower's* assuming the character of Protestant, the *Jesuits* repaid to him the sum of 1152 *l.* 10 *s.* 11 *d.* in full of the principal of the bond which he had from them for 1350 $\text{l}$ ; having made this deduction from the original sum, to make themselves amends for the double interest which they had paid to the lender, for almost six years [1]. This worthy person, I have been informed, at first had the conscience to demand the whole sum. But be that as it will, the transaction was closed in the manner I have related it, and Father *Shirburn's* bond to Mr. *B.* was delivered up to the *Agent* of the *Order*.

These facts thus put together, by way of narrative, throw great light upon the *letters*; and, as I observed before, I desire the reader to pay no regard to any of my assertions which I have not, as I went along, confirmed by proper authorities, or which I shall not place

(1) Upon a calculation, it will appear that the 1152 $\text{l}$ . returned to *Bower*, added to the sums which he had, from time to time, received, above four per cent, will make up, pretty exactly, the original 1350 $\text{l}$ .

beyond

beyond all doubt and suspicion, in the subsequent part of this performance.

The scene which these letters hath disclosed, places the character of the author of the *Lives of the Popes* in so disagreeable a light; and the facts therein contained are so inconsistent with his declarations in his preface, and his conversation piece concerning his escape from *Italy*, that we need not be surprized at the bold and impudent denial of them which he hath made public in all the news-papers, and afterwards more solemnly confirmed in *Westminster-Hall*. That one, thus in immediate danger of being dragged out from his lurking holes, to be branded with all the infamy due to the vilest hypocrisy, should make use of the same arts to preserve his reputation, which he made use of to obtain it, is no more than what we might naturally expect. But it will hardly gain credit that the unsupported assertions of the accused person himself (one who, in other instances, had convinced those who knew him best, that a strict adherence to truth was no part of his character) (*m*), should, without being corroborated by any one collateral proof, be able to satisfy any impartial inquirers, of his innocence. And yet that

Mr.

(*m*) Mr. B - - - r's genius for romancing was illustriously displayed, in the famous story which he invented about the compositor of Mr. *Richardson's* press. His second volume not coming out so soon, as he had promised to the Public, to throw off the blame from himself, he told many of his friends that the delay was occasioned by the madness of the compositor, who had inserted into the copy whenever a pope's name was mentioned, *G - - d d - - n him*, and other such wild expressions. Mr. B - - - r could not, when taxed with this story, deny that he had told it as a truth, but endeavoured to come off by saying, that he had it from his *corrector*. But, unfortunately, it can be proved that he never had *any corrector* of the press, besides himself; and therefore he stands charged with having invented this most improbable lie; a charge to which he hath pleaded guilty by his silence, when publicly called upon by Mr. *Barron* in the *General Advertiser*

Mr. B. still hath his patrons, protestant patrons of high character as to integrity and penetration, is a fact as certain as it is unaccountable. For my own part, being concerned only for truth, I have, upon examining into the real state of this strange transaction, found such overpowering evidence of Mr. B's. having written the letters which have been produced by Sir H. B. that if any one should take it upon him to say that he hath *seen* them, and made the necessary inquiries in order to form his judgment, without being satisfied that they are *not forged*, I should not scruple to tell him that he hath no inclination to find out truth, or no penetration to detect falshood. But, prejudiced as Mr. B.'s patrons may still be, in his favor, I am not without my hopes,

tiser of *November 23, 1750*, to justify himself on this head.--- It can also be proved upon our Historian, that he invented *another falshood*, about the delay of his second volume; for he told many gentlemen that he waited till the paper came from *Holland* on which it was to be printed; whereas, it is notorious that no such paper ever was sent for; that volume of the History of the Popes being printed on English paper bought of Al - - - n *Janssen*, as will appear from accounts still in being. - - - I shall only add, at present, how necessary it is that one who indulges himself in the privilege of departing from truth should have a good memory. Mr. B - - - r had told a noble Lady of the first distinction, the story of the compositor's interpolating his copy at the time when this was assigned by him as the reason why the second volume was so long deferred. Her Ladiship, therefore, could not but greatly wonder, to hear him complain, within these two or three months, that his enemies had most unjustly charged him with having propagated this story, which she well remembered to have heard from himself, five or six years before. - - - He has made such blunders more than once. In the family of a gentleman, universally known and admired, where he visited, he pretended that he had never been a priest; but, unfortunately, having happened to relate there, for the diversion of the company, some of the stories which he had *heard* in confession, the Lady of the house, who is very well acquainted with the *Romish* religion, asked him how he could hear confession without giving absolution? And how he could give absolution, without being a priest?

that



that I have already thrown so much light upon the facts laid to his charge, and shall, before I conclude, throw so much more light upon them, as must, unless they mean to declare that he is to be supported, at all events, induce them to join in that verdict, which, I am confident, the impartial world will pronounce.

Similitude of hands, I shall readily grant, is, in itself, no absolute proof; and, no doubt, there have been forgeries so well executed, as to confound those who were best acquainted with the hand-writing that was counterfeited. But, surely, similitude of hands is a very strong presumption in all cases; and where no reasonable appearance of forgery can be traced, will always have great weight with an impartial examiner. Now it is impossible that this kind of evidence can ever be stronger, than it is in the case before us. Mr. B.'s hand-writing is extremely remarkable, and hath more particularities than are usually met with. This circumstance shews how difficult it must be to *forge* letters bearing so striking a resemblance, as to deceive those who are intimately acquainted with Mr. B.'s hand. And yet that the letters which Sir H. B. hath in his custody have such a resemblance, is a fact which as it cannot be denied, so will it, with many, be no weak proof that they are *genuine*. They have, with the utmost care and attention, been compared with many undoubted specimens of the writing of Mr. B. by many gentlemen willing to come at truth, and I never could hear of any one person who was not struck with the likeness (*n*).—I must, indeed, except one gen-

(*n*) One objection, I hear, hath been made, viz. that the manner of forming the letter *d* is different in Sir H. B. - - - *d*'s MSS. from what it is in the undoubted specimens of B. - - - *r*'s hand-writing: but any one who hath eyes can satisfy himself that the remark is without the least foundation. For upon comparing many of Mr. B. - - - *r*'s subscription receipts, and several other pieces of his hand-writing, with the letters, it appeared that both in the undoubted, and in the dubious MSS. the letter *d* was sometimes formed with a long open sweep, and sometimes short, and with a curled top.

tleman,

tleman, who, after perusing them, called them, as I have been informed, *an evident and palpable forgery*; unless the matter of the letters induced him to pronounce this opinion, and not the manner of their being written; which indeed seems to be the case. For it is very remarkable that Mr. B. puts no part of his defence on want of similitude in the hand-writing, but owns that the forgery hath been executed with the greatest skill.—This, then, being a fact incontrovertible, that the letters in question are as like Mr. B.'s writing, as if he had written them himself; we desire his friends to reflect one moment, that while we admit it to be easy to forge a subscription, or even such a piece of writing as a promissary note; we look upon it, I will not say impossible, but certainly to be next to impossible, to *forge six long letters*, in a very singular hand, without the least air of constraint, and without furnishing some means, from the bare inspection of them, to find out the fraud.

*External* marks of forgery not appearing in this case, will Mr. B. or his friends, assert that there are *internal* ones? The reader, before whom I have laid a faithful copy of the letters, must see how groundless any such assertion is. On the contrary, the following circumstances will weigh with every lover of truth, to make him be of opinion that the letters have many *internal* marks of genuineness, marks which are inconsistent with the supposition of their being *forged*.

If the letters had been *forged* to prove that the person in whose name they are written had transactions and connexions with *Papists* and *Jesuits*, we might have expected that he would have been made to speak out boldly, to call things by their names, and to say, without reserve, and without ambiguity, such things as might fix upon him, more incontrovertibly, the intended charge. But is this the case of the letters in question? Every thing is the reverse. They have been produced in such a condition, that it doth not even appear from them, either who wrote them, or

to

to whom they were written. Four of them have no direction, and the other two bear the name of Mr. *Elliot Brown*; and they are all six without any subscription but A. B. which may as well stand for *Abraham Broomstick*, as for *A—d B—r* I leave it, therefore, to every person of common sense to judge, whether it can be supposed to be possible that, if the six letters in question had been forged to prove that Mr. *B.* corresponded with Father *Sheldon*, the contrivers of the forgery would to have omitted signing the supposed writer's name to them; or that they would have given them out of their hands with no stronger evidence of their being written to *Sheldon*, than this, that four of them appear without any direction at all, and the other two directed to a person of a very different name?

If we next attend to the matter contained in the letters, we shall not find in them any express mention made of the catholic religion, of *Jesuit*, or general of the *Jesuits*, or of being reconciled to the *order*, nor, in short a single expression which can be referred to any of those topics, without interpretations, reasonings, and inferences, and, in short, without previously aiding the reader by the help of a key, the certainty of which must depend upon his opinion of the integrity and information of the relator, not upon the letters themselves, which, without such a comment, will appear to be extremely obscure throughout, and in many places, perfectly unintelligible. A circumstance this, which every impartial inquirer will look upon as a very strong proof of their genuineness.

But, perhaps, *internal* marks of the forgery of the letters may be alledged, from the mention of *false facts*. Such an objection, I hear, hath been urged by Mr. *B.* and his friends, who triumph in this unanswerable argument against the genuineness of the letters, that the writer of them makes mention of a child, whereas Mr. *B.* never had a child; and of his being to get a place in 1747, whereas he did not get it till 1748.—With regard to the *child* which he is said to have had, in the letters



letters (tho' it doth not seem quite plain that the child is called *bis*) I shall only observe, that I scarcely believe, any of his friends, with all their zeal to serve him, will take it upon them to say that to their certain knowledge he *never had a child*. But let us admit that they could be able to prove this curious negative, and that what the letters say about this affair, and about a patent being to be made out in 1747, are both falsehoods, this surely can be no argument to prove that *B.* did not write the letters. Indeed, if the dispute was about the genuineness of writings, published in the name of an *inspired* penman, in this case their containing falsehoods would be decisive that they ought not to be received as *canonical*. But, in the present case, the very point in dispute is, whether this man be a lying, dissembling hypocrite; how then can it destroy the genuineness of letters said to be written by him, to observe that there are lyes in them? On the contrary, if the letters were genuine, which his warmest advocates must allow to be possible, might we not reasonably expect falsehoods from a wretch who hath totally departed from truth?—Especially as I have shewn above, that the falsehoods which he made use of, tended to the point at which he aimed. But one can scarcely be serious when reduced to the necessity of answering objections which are either ridiculous in themselves, or turn against the cause which they mean to serve.

However corroborated by all the evidence resulting from similitude of hand, however free from every internal mark of spuriousness the six letters be, we have not yet done with objections. For it hath been urged against their genuineness—Why doth not Sir *H—y B—d* say from whom he got them? Why, after having them, as he saith, about five years in his possession, doth he shew them now, and did not produce them sooner?—These and many other similar *Quere's*, as important as these, have been

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common in the mouths of Mr. B—r's friends. Sir H—y, we will suppose, hath declined satisfying the impertinence of such querists. But what will follow? That the letters are not genuine? If this be our Convert's logic, he will hardly ever be able to reason out his innocence. Indeed such questions as these are foreign to the matter in debate. For I cannot see, even if Sir H—y had condescended to answer what nobody could have a right to ask, what light this would have thrown upon the affair; — I mean, so as to furnish any argument against the genuineness of the letters. On the contrary, as I can easily figure to myself a very natural way in which he might get possession of them, if they were really written to *Father Sheldon*, who, I hear, was his intimate acquaintance, so, I can easily imagine, that his answer as to the question — *From whom he got them?* would only have added evidence, if any can be thought wanting, to what we have already, to prove that there was no forgery in the case.

Why did not Sir H—y B—d shew them sooner? is an objection that I will allow to have some validity, when the objector shall tell me the reason, why no inquiry was made into the truth of the facts, about three years ago; for, so long ago, it is well known that the letters were shewn, to a gentleman, who mentioned what he had seen, at that time, to those whom it principally concerned to make the inquiry.

But, it seems, contradictory objections, I mean objections that destroy each other, must be made use of: For it hath been urged also — Why doth Sir H—y shew the letters *at all*? What are his views in making them public, even now? To this I answer, that it is a matter of the greatest indifference to the Public, what were the views of this gentleman; whether the letters be now shewn from motives of party zeal and resentment, or from a disinterested love of truth, and to unmask a dangerous hypocrite. For were we even to admit that the former of these views influenced

influenced Sir H—y (tho' nobody who hath ever heard of his character, and former conduct and connexions, can believe this) yet how could this operate to destroy the authenticity of the letters? Truth will be truth, tho' in the mouth of one who hath private views in publishing it. Let us therefore put the objection in the strongest light. Mr. B—r by deserting the *Roman Catholic Religion*, and by writing against it, hath made himself extremely obnoxious to Papists, who, thus inclined, may well be supposed capable of contriving a forgery to ruin him; and Sir H. B. imposed upon by the fraud of his Priests, who contrived this *soul* attack upon Mr. B's character, hath been their instrument in conveying to the public the six forged letters, which they had put into his hands as genuine.

This is the objection in its full force; and intrenched behind this bulwark, Mr. B. thinks that he may safely give the lie to his own hand-writing; as there are so many good Protestants ready to stand by him, in spite of the strongest appearances of guilt, merely because he hath been pleased to call the charge brought against him a *Popish conspiracy*, supported by forgery. But, as we have no proof of this besides the unsupported and suspicious testimony of the accused person himself, so are there very substantial reasons which will incline a searcher after truth to believe that the *Papists* did not forge the letters in question.

No forgery, it will be granted to me, ever was contrived, but when a real or apparent object of interest could be gained by the contrivers. But is there any such object existing that could induce the Papist to contrive a forgery against B? I cannot hesitate in declaring myself persuaded of the negative. Mr. B. it is true, hath published a book in which he hath been very free in exposing the personal vices of the *Popes*, and in tracing the progress of the encroachments of the *Roman See*.

Have the *Papists*, then, forged against him, for drawing the lives of wicked *Popes*, with historical exact-



exactness?—This will not be thought probable, when we reflect that *Papists* never thought themselves bound to assert the impeccability of the *Popes* considered as men, tho' they may think themselves bound to assert their infallibility considered as heads of the church. If it had been a part of *Popery*, to draw a veil over the wickedness of their apostolical vicars, what shall we say to those horrid characters, with which so many of them are drawn by *Popish* historians? Or is it possible for Mr. B. if ever he comes down to the time of *Alexander* the VI, to paint the vices of that Pope in more lively colours, or to brand him with greater infamy, than we already find done by their own *Guicciardin*? —Nay so far are the vices of particular *Popes* from being disowned or palliated by the most zealous advocates for the *papal* chair, that *Baronius* himself, (o) speaking of the state of the church about the year nine hundred, and downwards, for above an hundred years, can find no other name so proper as that of *monsters*, under which to describe those, who during that period had intruded into the holy see, and by the help of *Monsters*. —*Genebrard* (p), another eminent *Popish* writer, speaking of the same period, expresseth himself with as much severity as quaintness, that for almost 150 years, the *Popes* were rather *Apostatical* than *Apostolical*. And not to multiply authorities, *Bellarmino* (q) represents the *Popes* of those times as degenerating from the piety of their ancestors; and in the (r) *Ceremonial for the election of Popes*, there is deep complaint of such corruption, as, in the language of that book, caused the *pillars of the church to shake*. — After these instances, therefore, I cannot think that Mr. B's freedom in exposing the personal vices of the *Popes*

(o) Baron. Annal. ad an. 900, & ad an. 912.

(p) Genebr. chronolog. ad an. 901.

(q) Bellarm. Chronolog. ad an. 1026.

(r) Cerem. de Elect. Pontifi. p. 17.

*Popes*, could induce *Papists* to be guilty of *forgery* by way of revenge (s).

But, perhaps, his disclosing the gradual progress of the encroachments of the see of *Rome*, will be thought a motive sufficiently strong to engage them in so foul an undertaking. Let us, then, with impartiality consider the force of this remark.

And, here, I cannot but express myself as of opinion that no person acquainted with books, and master of the controversy between us and the church of *Rome*, will find any thing in Mr. B's three volumes already published, that hath thrown the least light upon the subject, or made any discovery, which, by adding strength to the cause of *Protestants*, already so ably supported by numbers of *unexceptionable* advocates, could make the *History of the Popes*, by A. B. Esq; so formidable to *Papists*, as to engage them in a vile and impudent forgery against the author. So far from this, that were it necessary, it could be proved by particular instances, that our *Historian of the Popes* doth not really know the strength of that cause which he undertakes to defend. And, indeed, how could he know it? He hath not thought it worth his while to look into antiquity himself, but hath contented himself to be a servile copier of modern compilers; nay, what is still more unfortunate for a writer who sets out with an intention to decry *Popery*, he seems totally unacquainted

(s) From the personal defects of popes, papists have inferred that Their church is under the immediate protection of heaven. This was Queen *Cristina's* way of reasoning, according to bishop *Burnet*: 'I will conclude, says he, all that I shall say in this place of the affairs of *Rome*, with a lively saying of Queen *Cristina* to myself at *Rome*. She said it was certain that the church was governed by the immediate care and providence of God, for none of the four popes that she had known since she came to *Rome*, had common sense. She added that they were the first and the last of men.' *Burnet's Hist. of his own times*, vol. I. p. 707. ad an. 1687.

quainted with the labours of protestant divines, and is a servile copier of modern *Popish* compilers. *Tillemont's Ecclesiastical memoirs* is a copious fund of matter, so far as they go, for our Protestant historian, who hath had such an opinion of the integrity of this *Frenchman*, as to follow him implicitly in the grossest blunders (1). The *French* lives of the *Popes*, published about twenty

(1) The anonymous remarker on Mr. B - - 's History observeth as follows : ' The parade of quotations with which every page is adorned, is usually borrowed : only the use made of them is very different. — The *Memoirs of Tillemont*, either at first or second hand, have been of singular service to him in embellishing his margin. His lists of authors or references to quotations are often taken from him, in the lump, without the least disguise, where that laborious author is not named : even the abridged manner of citing the books of the ancients, especially those of St. *Augustin*, which is entirely peculiar to that writer, is adopted by our historian. — But the *French* lives of the *Popes* printed in *Holland*, have supplied those parts which might seem to recommend his work as curious, as every one takes notice who has read that foreign history.' p. 19. 20.

And in another place, the general charge of *Plagiarism* is thus confirmed. ' On cursorily turning over the leaves I continually observe how he borrows quotations, often in the lump, from others, especially from *Tillemont*, or Mr. d'A -. I was stopt, p. 79, by finding St. *Basil* on *Synods* among the quotations. I have often read the works of St. *Hilary* and St. *Athanasius*, which bear that title. But whoever has been the least conversant in the writings of the fathers, or in the histories of their works, must know too well those of St. *Basil*, not to be startled at such a novelty. For no treatise was ever ascribed to him under that title, or on such a subject. I took it, at first, for an *Erratum* of the printer ; but found a long descant upon it, all built upon the same mistake, and St. *Basil* often quoted. An author a little conversant in the original writers would have been incapable of such a blunder. *O imitatores servum pecus !* The truth is that Mr. B. mistook St. *Basil* for St. *Athanasius* ; nor do I charge him with wilful infidelity. But he is evidently guilty of one in this passage when he accuses *Baronius* of corrupting designedly St. *Basil's* text, against



twenty years ago in *Holland*, (v) hath also been a noble treasure, out of which our *English* historian hath retailed the facts, which, with singular modesty, he would have his readers believe that he had learned from the fountain head. He may, perhaps, have got the simple, the credulous, and the unlearned, to think thus highly of his book; but those of his readers, whose opinion is of most consequence, have, long ago, agreed in pronouncing this judgment of it---That it is a book calculated to serve *Deism* as well as to refute *popery*; to furnish arguments to Infidels, as well as to protestants; that it is written with all the seeming inclination to expose papal usurpations, but that, unfortunately, the author

‘ all laws of honour and honesty. He had read, I suppose, in *Tillemont*, that *Baronius* was led into a mistake by the old faulty latin translation, which *Montfaucon* has rectified in his late version p. 758. How could he improve this into a wilful infidelity of *Baronius*, with all his own unaccountable blunders, which draw his invectives upon himself? Mr. B. follows the marginal references of *Tillemont* so servilely as to quote from him, I suppose, the same old edition of *St. Athanasius de Synodis* p. 918, tho’ every where, by his blunder, under the name of *St. Basil*.’ p. 34, 35.

(v) This work consists of five large quarto volumes, published, at different times, between 1732 and 1736. This is the book ascribed in the foregoing note to the marquis d’Argens; but it is, indeed, written by one Mr. Bruys, whose story, as being very similar to that of Mr. B---r, shall be placed before the reader, at the end of this performance. --- I shall only observe, at present, that a very learned and accurate critic hath compared the life of *Gregory* the Great in *Bruys*, with the life of the same pope in B---r, and it appears, that in 86 pages there are only five facts mentioned in the *English*, which are not in *Bruys*; who, on the other hand, has above fifty, not at all touched upon by B---r. And of thirty-two authors quoted by *Bruys*, fourteen only are cited by B---r, who has indeed eight not quoted by *Bruys*. And yet tho’ it is certain that B---r hath had the *Frenchman’s* work constantly in his eye, and made vast use of it; he told a learned divine who had taken notice to him of his silence about *Bruys* work, that that work did not deserve to be mentioned.

author hath often mistaken his instances, by not knowing the proper places of finding fault; in a word, that it hath been patched up from second-hand scraps, and from guides whom we cannot look upon to be sufficient to enable an humble follower of them to tread the dark roads of antiquity, and the labyrinths of *Eccelesiastical History*, without being in continual danger of wandering out of the path that leads to truth.

Such then being the real character of Mr. B's performance, the learned and the sensible (whatever may be the case of the ignorant, and credulous) will hardly be persuaded that the *Papists* could ever think it of such importance, as to make forgery against the author necessary. They who had it in their power to satisfy the world that the writer of the *History of the Popes* is the servile copier of *Tillemont* and *Bruys*, and to give the most striking instances of his *Plagiarism*, would hardly run the risk of bringing an odium upon their religion, by making an attack upon him as vile as it was unnecessary, and as difficult to be executed, as it would be easy to be detected.

These are very cogent reasons to induce me to be of opinion, that there could be no motive sufficiently strong to excite the *Papists* to answer the *History of the Popes* by a forgery against the author. But were we even to admit that this book is a much more formidable attack, than it really is, upon popery, there is a very remarkable circumstance, to prove that the letters now before us could not be forged with a view to this history;—I mean the post marks upon that letter which bears date *July 24. 1746*. At that time Mr. B. had given the *Papists* no provocation to attack his character by any forgery; his proposals for his history and the preface, which were the first proof that he gave of his protestantism, did not exist till the following year, and the first volume of his history did not appear till 1748. And yet one of the forged letters was sent by the post, in 1746.—Truth, when turned into every shape, comes out the more strong;

and unless Mr. B. and his friends please to include, as a part of the *Popish conspiracy*, the forgery of three (x) post marks, they must be content with another defence, and say that the *Jesuits* have the gift of prophecy, and could foretell in 1746, when Mr. B. was receiving an annuity from them, that he would next year erect his standard as a champion against them and their religion.

I might now insist upon the improbability that the letters in question should have been forged by the *Jesuits*, as they disclose the secrets of their *Order*, as they tell us that it is formed into a regular body amongst us, governed by a *Provincial* acting under the direction of the *General* at *Rome*, and so rich as to have large sums of money pass through their hands, facts which the politic sons of *Ignatius*, circumstanced as they are, in this country, instead of being guilty of forgery to bring to light, would endeavour to *stifle*; unless to gain an end, at best trifling, they can be supposed capable of acting in direct opposition to the interests of their *Order* and religion in *England*. But I need not insist upon this improbability, because I have it in my power to urge it as a positive fact, that so far have the *Jesuits* been from being aiding and assisting in making public Mr. B's dealings with them, since his arrival in *England*, that they have done all they could to stifle the transaction. The honorable gentleman, as I have been well assured, into whose hands the letters have fallen, hath had his conduct censured, for shewing them to Protestants. And when he did shew them, and found that similitude of hands would not be admitted as any proof, he met with the greatest difficulty in procuring such collateral evidences as would corroborate the

(x) The London post mark, 24 July, when the letter was put in the charge of 3d. the postage of a single letter to Chipping Norton; and the mark of the country postmaster before it was delivered. It is very remarkable that July 24 was a post-day (Thursday) in 1746.



the genuineness of the correspondence. Indeed it was no wonder; for the persons in whose hands those evidences are lodged, could not join in assisting to detect *B.* but by exposing themselves to legal severities. And if, at last, such *striking* proofs of *B.*'s secret dealings with *Papists* have come to light, as, I believe, will put the genuineness of the letters beyond all doubt, for these the world, I imagine, must owe it's obligation to Mr. *B.* and his friends, whose charge of *forgery* against *Papists* hath contributed more to his detection, than all that he hath written against popery in his history.

And here I am naturally led to say something to an objection, which hath been made use of upon the occasion. It is urged, that Mr. *B.* who is a sensible man, would not, if he had had any secret transactions with *Jesuits* inconsistent with his character as a convert, put himself in their power to expose him, by writing against their religion.—Now, not to observe, that if there be any force in this way of reasoning, it will serve to prove that no *sensible* man ever was or ever can be a rogue; the true answer is, that Mr. *B.* being a sensible man, thought that he might be a rogue without any danger of being detected. He knew very well that fathers *Skeldon*, *Carteret*, and the rest of his Order with whom he had corresponded, could not declare any thing to the world about his transactions with them, without marking themselves out as *Popish* emissaries, and consequently without exposing themselves to legal severities, if they continued in this country. Besides knowing that they might be restrained by fears of their own safety, Mr. *B.* might be in hopes, that the fathers to whom he had written in his character of a good catholick, would not drive him to extremities, by exposing him to Protestants, but that, rather, they would *remember him in their best Thoughts*, and look upon it as the most prudent part they could act, to endeavour to bring back within the pale of

their church the historian of the *Popes*, and not to make such a return impossible, by shewing him in his proper character, and fixing him for ever their determined enemy. But he had a farther security that his old friends would not expose him. Guided, as the *Jesuits* are said to be, by maxims of worldly wisdom, and concerned principally to advance the honor, and stifle the disgrace of their Order, he might have grounds for flattering himself that they would not be forward in acquainting Protestants that so much as one of the trusty Band had deserted, and proved unfaithful. Mr. B. as we have already observed, had industriously avoided telling us that he was a *Jesuit*. And if prudence taught him to conceal this, he had reason to hope that the *Jesuits* would not, for the credit of their Order, reveal it. And if the worst should happen, if neither fears for themselves, nor the hopes of regaining their apostate brother, nor regard for the honor of their order should have induced the *Jesuits* to keep secret B's transactions with them, he had taken care in his preface to tell his readers *that let the popish zealots vent their zeal in what manner they please, he should neither answer nor resent their reproaches and censures however malignant and groundless.* From which prudent declaration as we may infer a consciousness of having laid himself open to censure and reproach, so also may we observe from it, that he flattered himself that the same persons who had greedily swallowed the romantic tale about his escape from the *Inquisition*, might be prevailed upon to disbelieve every thing against him, however well supported, which should come from *Papists*.

When matters of fact are opposed only by reasonings, when an accused person can urge nothing in his defence, but the imprudence or the folly of doing what he is accused of, this must be owned to have a very suspicious aspect. For there are so many different points in which a thing may be viewed, that a step, which one person may call foolish and imprudent,

prudent, another person, or even the same person at another time, may look upon to be eligible and wise. This reflection is extremely applicable to the present case. Mr. B. I hear, builds great part of his defence on the folly and imprudence of making any offers of returning to the Papists, the genius of whose religion never alloweth them to forgive those who have once left them, and gone over to Protestants. It will be necessary, therefore, candidly to examine the weight of this way of reasoning. And it will throw great light upon this point to observe that when Mr. B. negotiated with his order, and lent his money to them, he had never *apostatized* from his religion as a papist, but only been *disobedient* to his superiors as a *Jesuit*. He had, it is true, escaped into *England*, but so far had he been from abjuring Popery upon his arrival there, that he could appeal to facts, of the most satisfactory nature, that he was still a zealous catholic—I mean his perverting of protestants from their faith. — Such being his situation when he treated about returning to his Order, where is the probability, that, if he had consented to go abroad, which however is far from being the case, he would have found his superiors inexorable?

But even tho' B. had, from the very first hour he came into *England*, abjured *Popery*, why should it be thought a thing incredible, that he afterwards negotiated about returning to it? In this case, one example is more to the purpose, than a thousand plausible arguments about the improbability and folly of such a step; and therefore, B — r must not think to satisfy Protestants by making use of them, when we *know* that such negotiations have been frequent with gentlemen in his peculiar situation. For what will he say to the case of *Jarrige*? This man, as we learn from *Bayle's Dictionary* (z), not

(z) *Peter Jarrige*, born at *Tulle* in *Limousin*, was one of the most famous preachers among the *Jesuits*, but otherwise



not only left the *Jesuits*, but turned Protestant preacher in *Holland*, and wrote a most abusive book against his own order. And yet, with all his good sense, wise a dishonest man; he was so exasperated against the order because he was not promoted in it to the employments which he imagined he deserved, that he resolved to turn Protestant. He imparted his mind to a Minister, who procured him an opportunity to retire into *Holland*. He abjured the *Roman Catholic* Religion in the consistory of *Rochele* on Christmas-day in the year 1647. When he arrived at *Leyden* he preached to a very numerous congregation upon the motives of his conversion, and endeavoured afterwards to persuade the world that he had no longer the least inclination for *Popery*. The States of *Holland* granted him a Pension. The *Jesuits* caused information to be made against him. --- *Jarrige* revenged himself with a witness in a book which he intitled, *les Jesuites mis sur l'Echafaut*, i. e. the *Jesuits* exposed upon a scaffold; he abused them so severely in that book that the Society never met with any thing that vexed them so much. --- His treating the *Jesuits* thus might have made the world imagine that they would be, for ever, irreconcilable, and yet the *Jesuit* *Ponthelier* who was then at the *Hague* amongst the attendants of an ambassador, had some hopes to reclaim that haughty spirit: he practised upon him so, that he persuaded him to return into the pale of the *Church of Rome*; which he did accordingly in the year 1650. *Jarrige* left *Leyden*, and went amongst the *Jesuits* of *Antwerp*, where he published his recantation immediately; but it is not known what became of him since that time. A great many persons believe that the *Jesuits* imprisoned him for the remainder of his life. This might be; but other reasons may be given why such a man should have entirely disappeared. Bayle's Dict. Art. JARRIGE.

Mr. Bayle in the notes upon this article, as a proof that *Jarrige* was not imprisoned, quotes a long extract from a letter of *Jarrige* to a merchant at *Leyden*, mentioned how well he had been received by the *Jesuits* at *Antwerp*: as also a passage from his recantation wherein are enumerated all the securities that had been given him; 1. the king's pardon, 2. letters of assurance from the pope, and liberty from him, to be either a secular priest, or to continue in the society of the *Jesuits*. 3. A pass or protection from Archduke *Leopold*, 4. letters patent

sense, he thought it advisable *actually* to return to those whom he had mortally offended. Why may we not suppose, therefore, that a *Jesuit*, in our own times, who had not thus offended, should *negotiate* about taking the same step? Nay, had he negotiated about it after the publication of his history, he might have had hopes of forgiveness; for he had before his eyes the more recent case of *Bruys* his brother historian, and convert, who, after he had written in *Holland* the *Lives of the Popes*, with as much, if not more freedom, himself returned, as we shall see by and bye, to the church of *Rome*, was received kindly, and died in peace.

Having, I flatter myself, effectually obviated or answered every cavil that can be made against the genuineness of the letters, it will be necessary now to extend our prospect, and to satisfy the Public that, independent of their authority, there are other most express and incontrovertible proofs, that the author of the history of the Popes hath had connexions of such a nature, with *Papists* and *Jesuits*, since his coming to *England*, as will, while they corroborate the genuineness of the letters, at the same time make it to be a matter of the utmost indifference whether the letters be genuine or no, as they will prove as much, nay more than the letters actually contain.

But, first, it will be proper to take notice of the unreasonableness of Mr. *B's* putting in his exceptions to *Papish* evidence. He hath been loud in his de-

patent from *Francis Piccolomini*, General of the Society of *Jesus*, to enter again amongst the *Jesuits*; and also other letters patent to go into such Kingdom or Province of the world as he should think fit. All this sealed with the great seal of the general's office, so that nothing could be more authentic. - - Tho *Bayle* did not know what became of *Jarrige*, it appears from an additional remark, in the late editions of the Dictionary, that *Jarrige* retired to *Tulle* in *Limousin*, where he lived as a secular priest, the pope having given him leave to do it. He died there Sept. 26, 1670.

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mand to have the facts laid to his charge confirmed by the attestation of Protestants. And why? He knew well that from the very nature of the facts, no Protestant evidence can be had. He is accused of having had dealings with *Popish* Priests here in *England*, dealings which it was his obvious interest to keep concealed from *Protestants*, and which those with whom he had them, durst not, for their own security, reveal: and yet he hath the modesty to offer it as a vindication of his conduct from the charge brought against him, that the evidence made use of to prove it is *Popish evidence*. I might mention that this defence sounds but ill in the mouth of one, who, by his own account, was, till he was at least forty years of age, of a profession, the members of which are represented by himself to be incapable of speaking truth. I might mention, also, the improbability, already insisted upon, that the Papists should falsify, in the particular case before us. But what I would principally observe upon the present occasion is, that the effrontery of the person who requires evidence which he knows cannot be had, is not to be paralleled but by the credulity of those who can acquiesce in such a demand as reasonable; and who do not see that this is the last resort of one, who being unable to defend himself by denying facts, and to support this denial by a real evidence, would artfully convert a private dispute about his own character into a public controversy between Protestants and Papists; hoping to impose upon our understandings by working upon our passions, and to turn the eyes of the *British* nation from the consideration of his own conduct too infamous to bear examination, by alarming them with the arts and forgeries of *Jesuits*; and by representing an attack upon the author of the History of the Popes, to mean nothing less than an attack upon the Protestant religion.—However, I have too good an opinion of my countrymen to think that many of them can be imposed upon, at all, or that any of them

can



can be imposed upon long, by this shuffling demand of Protestant evidence, which resembles much that curious argument which *Lord Bolingbroke* urges against the credibility of the *Mosaic History*, that it is not confirmed to us by cotemporary *Pagan evidence*, tho it is well known that no such evidence *could* exist.

But what will Mr. B. say, if we should be able to find out an evidence according to his own heart; an evidence whose zeal for the Protestant religion he will not venture to impeach?—I mean no other person than himself. Surely he will not raise the cry of *Popery* against so sincere a convert; and yet this very person hath acknowledged so much of the principal transaction mentioned in the letters, as must create strong presumptions that the whole charge is founded in truth.

The letters having acquainted the world that Mr. B. many years after he came into *England*, was upon such a footing of intimacy with his old brethren the *Jesuits*, as to put his money into their hands; he was afraid, while he boldly asserted the forgery of the letters, to assert that no such money transaction had happened; well knowing that the truth of it might be proved by authentic papers and unexceptionable evidence. It was necessary for him, therefore, to confess, as I am informed, he hath done to his acquaintances, that, indeed, he did lend a sum of money to one *Hill*, but that he took it out of his hands again so soon as he found him out to be a *Papist and Jesuit*. Here then I would ask any impartial inquirer, is it a likely story that Mr. B. or any man of common sense, would lend 1350 *l.* perhaps all that he was worth in the world, to one, whom he knew nothing about? This question occurs, upon hearing that he hath pretended ignorance of Mr. *Hill's* real character. But is it possible that he could be ignorant of this? *Father Hill* the *Jesuit*, chaplain to the *Bavarian* minister, was, as I have learnt upon enquiry, a very noted man in his way. And I leave it to the consideration of the most zealous of Mr. B.'s friends, whether it can be supposed

posed possible that he, who was a *Jesuit* himself, should not know one of the most noted *Jesuits* in *London*; that he should be in company with him, almost every day, at *Lewis's* shop, and have such an intimacy with him as to lend him his money, and yet, all the while, not know that he was the agent, or, as they call it, the *Procurator* of the *Jesuits* in *England*?

But as I would not willingly misrepresent Mr. B's, own relation of this *strange* transaction, it is but equitable to mention, that while he hath to *some* of his acquaintances pretended ignorance of *Hill's* profession, to *others* he has not denied that he knew him to be what he was when he lent him the money, but hath said that it was none of his business to be scrupulous about lending his money to a *Jesuit*, while he had good security for it.—What *security* then did *Hill* give him? It is very remarkable that when this question was put to him, by some of his friends (one of whom was a gentleman whose labours both as a divine and as a polite scholar justly recommend him to the favour of the public) his answer to them was, *that he had forgot*. Strange! that Mr. B's memory should be so faithful, as it was upon this occasion, to remember all the trifling circumstances of his story, and yet, be so treacherous as to forget the only circumstance worth remembering, and which, indeed, it cannot be supposed he has forgot without forgetting that the money was lent at all! He hath been very particular in describing his intention of lending his money to the trustees for rebuilding *some* church in the city; he hath recollected his being too late for that subscription; he remembers meeting Mr. *Hill* at Mr. *Lewis's* shop (at other times the scene hath been laid at *Garraway's Coffee-House*) and his complaining to him of this disappointment, and *Hill's* telling him that he could get him an annuity upon the same terms with those offered by the trustees of the city church: all these minute particulars he hath retained in his memory; but when asked what security *Hill* gave him, this *essential* part of the trans-

transaction, it seems, was not worth remembering. — And yet, if I can put any confidence in my information, at other times Mr. *B.* in relating this mysterious transaction, hath remembered that he had, from *Hill*, security upon stock which stood in the funds in the name of a lady. I am far from charging all these inconsistencies upon him; but it is certain that his own confession as to the money transaction, hath been very differently represented, by different persons, all pretending to have heard it from himself. And, therefore, it is incumbent upon him to publish a narrative of the whole matter, and to tell a story to which he will hold his face: particularly he should acquaint the public whether Mr. *Hill* was principal in the affair, or only agent; whose name was subscribed to the bond; what stock he had his security upon, whether the *Bank*, the *India*, or the *South Sea*; what was the lady's name in which this stock stood; and in what year the bargain was concluded. A narrative of this kind would put it in the power of the public to come at truth; and unless such a narrative be given, it will be impossible for him to hinder any candid enquirer from being of opinion, that the truth of a capital point mentioned in the letters is confirmed by his own evidence, and that he hath owned enough already, to make every one believe there is much more behind, which he dares not own.

If Mr. *B.*'s own confession, that he lent money to Father *Hill*, should be thought to be no proof of his having put this money into the hands of the *Jesuits*, the evidences which I now shall offer will put the certainty of this transaction beyond all possibility of doubt. In representing these evidences I shall not take upon me to range them so as to make them appear to the greatest advantage, but shall communicate them to the world in the same order in which they were first discovered.

Upon reading the letters every one will observe that if they be genuine it is highly probable that  
collateral



collateral proofs exist, particularly with regard to the money. For it was impossible that a transaction of that kind could be carried on without *writings*: some of which, even at the distance of so many years, it was likely might be preserved. When Sir *H—y B—d* first shewed the letters, tho he knew, in general, that such evidence of their genuineness might be got, he was much in the dark as to the particulars. He had neither learnt the amount of the sum lent by Mr. *B.* nor the time when it was lent, nor when it was repaid. Not supposing it possible that similitude of hands could be deemed no proof, he had looked about for no other proof of the genuineness of the letters besides themselves. But a gentleman to whom he shewed them above a year ago, observing that they contained nothing but obscure hints, and imperfect references about the money transaction, thought the subject too curious not to be well worth inquiring into. He accordingly applied to the *Jesuits* for information, and received the following letter, the facts contained in which I have already made use of.

‘ SIR,

‘ By letter I received by this day’s mail from *Car-*  
‘ *teret* now in *Flanders*, I am desired to present his  
‘ compliments to you, and to acquaint you, that Mr.  
‘ *Arch. B—r* according to the late Mr. *Hill’s* ac-  
‘ count books, 21<sup>st</sup> of *August* 1741 paid late Mr.  
‘ *Sbirburn* the sum of 1100 *l.* for which he was to  
‘ have an annuity for life, at the rate of seven *per*  
‘ cent. Item, 27 *February* 1741, he paid ditto the  
‘ sum of 150 *l.* for a life-rent to commence that day at  
‘ 7 *l. per cent.* Item 6<sup>th</sup> *August* 1743, he paid  
‘ ditto the sum of 100 *l.* for an annuity at 7 *l. per*  
‘ cent. to commence 27<sup>th</sup> same month, when all  
‘ the annuities were reduced into one of 94 *l.* 10 *s.*  
‘ to be paid half-yearly, for which he had a bond.  
‘ And on the 20<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1747, after a deduction  
‘ had been made, Mr. *Arch. B—r* was paid in  
‘ full

full principal of his bond the sum of 1152 l. 10 s. 11 d. and the bond delivered to Mr. Hill.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant

24th May 1755.

J. P—Z

At Mr. Wright's, Banker, Convent-Garden:

The above letter, the original of which, with the Post mark upon it, I have had in my hands, many months ago, was written at a time when there was not the least appearance of this affair's being made public to the world, and upon inquiry it appears that Mr. P—Z the writer of it is a Jesuit, who succeeded Mr. Hill, who died about three years ago, as agent or procurator of the order in England, and, by virtue of that station, is now in possession of Mr. Hill's account books, in which Mr. B's acceptance of an annuity from father Shireburn, provincial of the Jesuits stands recorded so authentically, that, after this fact is known, I cannot suppose the prejudices of his friends to be so strong as that they should still doubt, or his own boldness to be so extravagant as he should still deny, that he corresponded with Jesuits since he came to England.

Were there no other evidence besides this money transaction, to corroborate the genuineness of the letters, it would be decisive in the judgment of good sense and impartiality. Mr. B. to use his own words upon a solemn occasion, in very many companies since his coming to England hath expressed the utmost abhorrence of the injustice and cruelty of the Inquisition (a); and the  
utmost

(a) Tho' this was Mr. B's general topic to Protestants, once he forgot himself, when he told a noble Lord who wears a red ribbon, that the English entertained very wrong notions of the Inquisition. For that there was no court upon earth

E

took

utmost contempt and dislike of the superstitions practised in, and authorized by, the Romish religion, as several of those with whom he then lived are ready to attest. And the same persons can also attest, that he used to represent his life as being in the utmost danger from Popish assassinations, attempts to poison him, and schemes to kidnap him. Must it not therefore amaze those gentlemen who used to hear our convert talking in this manner, to find it authentically proved, that at the very time while he was thus amusing his protestant friends, he was so intimately connected with the Jesuits, and reposed such confidence in the society, as to trust the Provincial with a large sum of money, perhaps all that he was worth in the world; and, what is still more extraordinary, to trust this money, upon condition of having an annuity paid to him, by which bargain, he gave those, whom he charged with designs against his life, this additional motive to put them in execution?—Even tho' Mr. B's education, and former conduct had been uniformly Protestant, his trusting his whole fortune, in the hands of the Jesuits, upon no other security but a bond from their Provincial, would have looked suspicious. But when we reflect that he was himself a Priest and a Jesuit, is it possible to take a view of him laying at the feet of the Provincial of the Jesuits all that he

took such pains to come at truth: that the utmost care was used to prevent any accused person from suffering through malice or resentment, by making the strictest inquiries, before a witness was admitted against him, whether there ever had been any quarrel between them or any reason to suspect that the information proceeded from ill-will, in which case no regard was paid to it,----This character given of the Inquisition by one who had, so frequently, in very many companies expressed the utmost abhorrence of the injustice and cruelty of it, as it surprized the noble person who had it from B's own mouth, so will it be a fresh instance of the great weight which every thing ought to have, that is affirmed or denied by this consistent evidence,

had



had gained since his coming to *England*, and accepting of an annuity from the purse of the *order*—and yet to consider him as the sincere convert to Protestantism?—In a word, *B's* putting this money into the hands of Father *Skireburn* in the years 1741, 1742 and 1743, must incline every lover of truth to believe, that if he was *not* readmitted into favor with his superiors at that time, he was sincere in his desire to be so; and, consequently, the genuineness of his correspondence with Father *Skeldon* is put upon such a footing, as must confound impudence, stagger prejudice, and give full conviction to the unbiassed Inquirer.

As, therefore, Mr. *B's* money transaction with the *Jesuits*, if properly *authenticated*, will be so *decisive* upon the present occasion, I shall now proceed to lay before the *Public* such demonstrative proofs of it, as must satisfy those, if there be any such, who may be inclined to doubt the genuineness of the extracts from *Father Hill's* account books. Mr. *B.* in his confession about the money made in private to his friends, having pretended that he did not know into whose hands it was put by *Hill*, it happens unfortunately for him, that this pretence can be disproved in the most striking manner. For the same person who is in possession of *Father Hill's* books hath lately found (*b*), amongst his papers, the following receipts, signed by Mr. *B—r*, and all written with his own hand, except two, which are in a hand-writing known to be that of Father *Hill*. These receipts are now in possession of Sir *H—y B—d*, and the following may be looked upon as an exact copy.

(1) Received this day, 27 *February* 1741, the sum of 38 pounds ten shillings in full of half a year's an-

(*b*) These receipts were found amongst *Hill's* Papers about a month or six weeks ago. The four last were found some days before the other five.

nuity due to me the 21<sup>st</sup>. current (c), as witness my hand

A—d B—r.

(2) 22<sup>d</sup> September 1742, received then of Mr. Shireburn, thirty eight pounds 10 s. in full of one half year's annuity, due to me the 21<sup>st</sup> of August last, and five pounds 5 s. in full of another half year's annuity due the 27<sup>th</sup> of ditto (d) in all forty three pounds 15 s. I say received the same by the hands of Mr. John Hill by me.

A—d B—r.

(3) (e) 8<sup>th</sup> March 1742 received then of Mr. Charles Shireburn by the hands of Mr. John Hill, thirty eight pounds 10 s. in full of half a year's annuity due the 22<sup>d</sup> of February last, and five pounds 5 s. in full of half a year's annuity due the 27<sup>th</sup> of the same in all 43 l. 15 s.

£. 43 -- 15

A—d B—r.

(4) Received of Mr. Charles Shireburn by the hands of Mr. Hill the sum of 47 l. 5 s. being half a year's

(c) This receipt agrees remarkably with the extract from Father Hill's books. The 1100 l. was paid on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 1741, and consequently the half year's annuity was due February 21<sup>st</sup>, and at 7 per cent, amounts exactly to 38 l. 10 s.

(d) It appears from Father Hill's books, that B's second payment of 150 l. was made February 27, 1741; consequently on August 27, 1742, one half year's annuity for this sum was due, and five pounds five shillings as is mentioned in this receipt, is exactly the sum which 150 l. at 7 l. per cent, produces for half a year.

(e) This and the foregoing receipt are the two which are only signed by Mr. B. the other seven being all written in his own hand.

annuity

annuity (f) due the 27th of February last, witness my hand, this 3d day of April 1744. Witness my hand

A——d B——r.

31st October 1744.

(5) Received of Mr. *Shireburn* from the hands of Mr. *Hill* the sum of forty seven pounds five shillings in full of half a year's annuity due the twenty seventh of August. Received, I say, by me

A——d B——r.

(6) Received of Mr. *Hill* the sum of forty seven pounds five shillings, in full of half a year's annuity, due to me on the 27th of August last, from the representatives of Mr. *Charles Shireburn*, as witness my hand, this third day of September, 1745.

A——d B——r.

(7) 27 March 1746, received of Mr. *Hill* the sum of twenty three pounds twelve shillings, and sixpence, being the quarter's annuity due the 27th of last February.

A——d B——r.

(8) September 3d. 1746. Received this day of Mr. *Sheldon* by the hands of Mr. *Hill* the sum of forty seven pounds five shillings being in full of half a year's annuity, due the 27th of August last. Received, I say, by me

A——d B——r.

(9) March 24. 1747. Received of Mr. *Hill* the sum of forty seven pounds five shillings in full of

(f) Mr. *B.* having, according to Father *Hill's* books, made his last payment of 100 l. and received a bond for the whole sum of 1350 l. to be paid for it an annuity of 94 l. 10 s. to commence from the 27th of August 1743, this agrees remarkably with the receipt before us; forty seven pounds five shillings being the half year's annuity, and becoming due on the 27th of February 174 $\frac{3}{4}$ .



half a year's annuity due to me the 27th of *February* last past. Received, I say, by

*A—d B—r.*

Can then this *A—d B—r*, in spite of all this evidence, have the confidence to persist in his tale, which ha. h, it seems, satisfied his good friends, that he was unacquainted with the destination of the money, which he owns to have lent to *Father Hill*? Doth it not appear under his own hand, so frequently repeated, that he knew that *Hill* acted as agent in this affair for the Provincial of the *Jesuits*? Doth he not own the receipt of his annuity from *Father Shireburn* the Provincial, with whom, according to *Hill's* books, he made the bargain? Doth he not sign a receipt for the same annuity mentioning as the representative of *Father Shireburn* that very *Sheldon* with whom he so solemnly denies that he ever had any correspondence? Facts such as these are stubborn, and not be trifled with; and when the reader has had them placed before him, he will not at all wonder that a profound silence about them hath been observed by the worthy historian, in that extraordinary performance, dated the 31st of *May*, on which he hath rested his defence. Whether, after duely attending to the force of the proofs which I have laid before the Public, any of the gentlemen who have heard *B.* give his account of the money transaction can persist in having any opinion of his veracity, will appear from the part, which they shall think proper to take, upon this *appeal to the world*. I shall only add, that the impartial reader, who knows nothing more of *B.* but that he hath assumed the character of a sufferer for conscience sake, will look upon it as extremely probable, that the person who could accept of an annuity from one Provincial of the *Jesuits*, should write letters to a subsequent Provincial about this affair; and

and that while the genuineness of the above receipts stands unimpeached, it will be of little service towards the clearing up of *B's* character, tho' he should be able (as I am afraid he never can) to assign one single proof, besides that of his own unsupported affirmation, that the letters produced by Sir *H—y B—d* are forged.

The genuineness of the *Receipts* being then so striking a confirmation of the genuineness of the *Letters*, I make no doubt that Mr. *B.* and his friends will endeavour to evade the evidence resulting from them by representing them as the production of the same hand who wrote the letters, and *forged* for the same purposes; and such is the force of prejudice in weak and ignorant minds, that perhaps, if such a defence were made, it might be satisfactory to some. But unfortunately for Mr. *B.* and fortunately for the cause of truth, which sooner or later always will prevail, all pretence for this kind of defence is precluded by the following very remarkable particulars.

Father *Hill*, who joined together the two seemingly inconsistent professions of *Jesuit* and *Attorney*, used to keep his current cash (large sums passing through his hands) at the shop of Mr. *Wright* the Banker in *Henrietta Street, Covent-Garden*, by which means, he frequently gave those who had demands upon him, draughts upon Mr. *Wright*, which was the same as ready money. And this actually happeneth to be the case in the affair now under consideration, so that Mr. *Wright's* books stand a lasting record that the above receipts are genuine; and consequently that the Protestant *Historian*, after he had been in *England* at least twenty years, was so closely connected with the Provincials of the *Jesuits*, as to receive an annuity from them.

The following extracts from Mr. *Wright's* books may be depended upon, and the reader is desired to compare them with the receipts already produced.

(1) On the 23d of *September* 1742 the sum of 43 *l.* 15 *s.* was paid to Mr. *Archibald B—r*, by order from Mr. *Hill*.

(2) On the 3d of *April* 1744, the sum of 47 *l.* 5 *s.* was paid to ditto, by order of Ditto.

(3) On the 31st of *October* 1744, the sum of 47 *l.* 5 *s.* was paid to ditto, by order of ditto.

(4) On the 3d of *September* 1745, the sum of 47 *l.* 5 *s.* was paid to ditto, by order of ditto.

(5) On the 27th of *March* 1746, the sum of twenty three pounds twelve shillings and sixpence were paid to ditto, by order of ditto.

(6) On the 24th of *March* 1747, the sum of 47 *l.* 5 *s.* was paid to ditto, by order of ditto.

The original draught for this last payment happens to be still preserved, and is as follows.

24th *March* 1747.

Mr. *Wright*,

Pay to Mr. *A—d B—r*, or bearer forty seven pounds 5*s.* and place it to the account of your humble Servant

*John Hill.*

From these remarkable articles, agreeing, as far as they go, so minutely with the receipts, it appears that in order to acquit Mr. *B.* of a very suspicious correspondence with the *Jesuits*, he and his friends

(if



(if he can have any friends after this evidence is made public) must to the *forgery* of the extracts from Father *Hill's* books, to the *forgery* of the nine receipts, add also the *Forgery of the books of an eminent Banker*, and what is still more, the *perjury* of the book-keeper who, as I am informed, remembers to have paid the above sums into *B's* own hands. But bold as this man is in his assertions, and satisfied as he must be, from experience, that he is so fortunate as to have friends who put an implicit confidence in his word, he hath had the prudence, to avoid saying any thing to the Public, of a transaction which he was *conscious* could be so well authenticated as this of purchasing an annuity from the *Jesuits*. He might flatter himself that the zeal of his friends would find no proof in similitude of hands, that *Popish Priests* would either be silent, or if they told tales about him, would not be believed; but the *books of a Banker*, which he *knew* could be produced against him, was a kind of evidence too stubborn to be impeached, by his own effrontery, and too strong to be resisted by the credulity of others.

After having confirmed so *authentically* the *principal transaction* treated about in the six letters to Father *Sheldon*, many of my readers will, I make no doubt, be satisfied that enough hath been said to shew that they are *genuine*. But as one of these letters represents Mr. *B* as offering his service to his *Jesuit* superiors, and takes notice of a negotiation carried on between him and Mr. *Retz*, the general of the order, by the means of Mr. *Carteret*, I shall now proceed to corroborate this *essential* particular, by the evidence, of almost the only person, besides Mr. *B*. who could know its truth—I mean by the evidence of Father *Carteret* himself.

Perhaps the death of Mr. *Carteret*, in *March* or *April* last, hath encouraged Mr. *B*—r so peremptorily to deny, what he hoped could not be proved by any other person. But *Carteret*, though he

he be dead, still speaketh ; for he lived long enough after Mr. *B's* Letters to Father *Sheldon* were produced, to give a most remarkable attestation to their genuineness. — As a man of family, of learning, and abilities, with an irreproachable private character, he was admitted, tho' the Provincial of the *Jesuits*, to the acquaintance of Protestants of the highest rank. Upon his being asked, some little time before his death, by a noble Duke, what he knew of the connexions between *B.* and the *Jesuits* in *England*, his confidence in his Grace's protection getting the better of his apprehensions of bringing himself into any danger, he owned to his Grace, that, at Mr. *B's* earnest request, he had carried on the negotiation between him and the General of the order : by this declaration confirming most expressly that part of the first letter where *B.* says, *I have received a letter from Mr. Carteret, in Mr. Retz's name, who desires to know what Province will be most to my Satisfaction.*

But Father *Carteret*, besides carrying on *B's* negotiation with *Rome*, had also done another signal piece of service to his penitent brother — *being the very person who readmitted him, in a formal manner, into the order.* This was done, at *London*, some time before the battle of *Fentenoy* (g) ; Mr. *Carteret*, not long before his death, having, to several of his acquaintances, mentioned the fact, and fixed the date of it as above.

If Father *Carteret's* reputation as a man of veracity should not secure him from the charge of giving a false testimony, and his attestation should not have any weight with the world, either because he was a *Jesuit*, or because he is dead ; the same objections cannot be made to the following narrative of Mrs. *Hoyles*, widow of Mr. *Hoyles*, a Printer, now living in *Great-Wyld-Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields* ; taken from her own mouth, *June the 1st 1756*, which, I believe, will

(g) This battle was fought on the 30th April 1745.

amaze the Public, as much as it will confound Mr. B——r.

‘ Mrs. Hoyles says, that her acquaintance with Mr. B. began in the year 1727 or 1728, on the following occasion. She was desired by Mrs. Mary Sutton (then servant to Mrs. Fleetwood, aunt to Mr. Fleetwood master of *Drury-Lane Play-house*) to allow her to meet Mr. B. at the apartment of Mrs. Hoyles to drink a dish of tea; Mr. B. then making his addresses to Mrs. Sutton, and passing, by her account to Mrs. Hoyles, for a merchant in good circumstances. They accordingly met several times at Mrs. Hoyles’s apartment, and he appeared vastly fond of her; but, at last, complained to Mrs. Hoyles and her Husband, that she would not marry him. Mrs. Hoyles pressed her to marry him, and she said that he could not marry for he was a *Knight of Malta*, and had made the same vows as if he had been a Priest. Upon that Mrs. Hoyles said that, if they could not marry, they should not meet any more at her apartment; and that upon her talking to him about the *Knights of Malta*, he drew his sword, and shewed her how these Knights stood when the gospel was read.

‘ Mr. B. calling frequently upon Mrs. Hoyles, on the occasion of this Mrs. Sutton, who was a catholic, he and Mrs. Hoyles (who was at that time a Protestant, as all her relations still are) had several discourses about religion, and she told him she wondered a man of his good sense could be of a religion so full of superstition and bigotry, and asked him if ever he had read *Archbishop Tillotson’s* sermons. His answer was, that *Tillotson was a mere sophister*; and with an air of contempt said, that he could easily confute him, or words to that effect, and *wished he could think so well of the Protestant religion as she did*. In his discourses with her upon this subject, he put the rise of the Protestant religion in such a light, that he gave her scruples, which made her very uneasy. About

‘ three



three years after she became a catholic, unknown to her Husband, which step gave great uneasiness to him and all her own relations. After this happened Mr. B. coming frequently to her house, had several conversations with her husband about religion, Mr. B. *with all the strength of argument defending the side of the Catholics.* And in about five years Mr. Hoyles also became a catholic. Mr. B. upon this event, congratulated them both, and hoped that his having been instrumental in bringing it about, would make some atonement for his own neglect of his duty, or to that effect.--- Mrs. Hoyles never knew any thing of his being a Priest, till after her conversion; and he told her, soon after his first acquaintance that he had been obliged to leave *Rome*, on account of a Nun, and that upon a friend's giving him information that the inquisition would lay hold of him, he made his escape; upon being asked upon what account relating to a Nun, he said it was for writing something in defence of her.

After this Mr. B. discontinued his visits for some time; and when she saw him again the first time, he said that he had been ill; she asked him, suppose Mr. B--r you had died in this way? His answer was, that if he had thought he should have died, he would have had some assistance. The occasion of Mrs. Hoyles's question was her having had many conversations with him about his returning to his duty, she knowing that he lived a life inconsistent with the character of a Priest, and being in disobedience to his superiors. With tears running down his cheeks, frequently, he told her, *that he knew he did not do right, but that it was the fault of his superiors*, who would not restore him to his faculties, unless he consented to go abroad, which he was averse to; and used to say to her, that he found the greatest satisfaction when he conversed with her and her Husband, but *that his resolutions to be good, were always dissipated when he got into his great company.* She had

often

often heard him say, that he should be glad to be acquainted with Mr. *Carteret*, a gentleman of his own Order, having heard a great character of his sweetness of temper, learning and piety. Upon that, Mrs. *Hoyles* brought him acquainted with Mr. *Carteret*, and, on that occasion, she said to him, Sir, I now return the obligation I owed you for being instrumental in making me and my husband Catholics, by putting you in the way of returning to your duty.

Mr. *B.* afterwards told Mrs. *Hoyles* (to the best of her remembrance in the year before the rebellion) that *all was over, that Mr. Carteret had done the business*: Upon which she and her husband congratulated him; and Mr. *Carteret* frequently wrote to him, by the name of *Sanders*, or *Sanderson*, to his lodgings, that there might be no suspicion of the correspondence; and her husband carried, from Mr. *Carteret*, the *Directory for him to say his Office by*. She asked Mr. *B.*, how he would conduct himself, upon being reconciled to his Order, that his great Protestant acquaintances might not know it? His answer was, that he would leave them all at once, change his name, and retire to some distant part of *England*, he having had leave, as she was told by him, to continue in this country.

Mrs. *Hoyles*, some time before Mr. *B.*'s Preface was published, heard him say, several times, that he was writing the *Lives of the Popes*, for the sake of religion, that they might be truly written; and he told her husband, that he should have the printing of the book. And afterwards, before his Preface and Proposals appeared, Mr. *Hoyles* printed for him a thousand receipts; but *B.* gave it as a reason why he could not fulfil his promise to Mr. *Hoyles* of printing his History, that Lord *Aylmer* had said, *B.* we know your principles now, as you propose to let a Papist print your work.

When

When his preface to his work came out, Mrs. Hoyles, upon reading it, was struck, and could scarcely believe her eyes, the contents of it being so contrary to the doctrines he had formerly taught her, and constantly maintained himself. Then, upon first seeing him after this, she asked him with some warmth, *Mr. B, what hurt have my husband and I done you, that you should hurt us both in spirituals and temporals? for if you are now in the right, you put us in the wrong; for we were then in the right, when you first knew us, if you are now in the right,* To which he made no reply.

Before Mrs. Hoyles brought B. and Mr. Carteret acquainted, B. asked her, if she thought that he might trust his money in the hands of the Jesuits, for an annuity; because, said he, *it is all their own, having no property.* Upon which she told him, that she would lay her life, if they agreed to take the money, they would faithfully fulfil their agreement. At his request, she spoke to the gentlemen of the Order, and she remembers to have heard from himself, *that they had got his money, on the terms he had mentioned.* And, *in the year of the rebellion, he wanted, as he told her, his money back again, saying, that it was a woman's money.* Upon which Mrs. Hoyles said to him, you told me the money was your own; and that it would enable your Order to do that good, which you yourself had neglected. Then he desired Mrs. Hoyles to tell Mr. Elliot, the gentleman who acted for Mr. Sheldon the Provincial, that unless they paid him the money, he would hang Mr. Sheldon; for he knew his haunts, and would advertise him. Upon that she said, Sure, Mr. B, you don't speak as you think. Yes, said he, but I do; and her answer immediately was, *You have a soul as black as bell.*— This last conversation was after the Preface was printed, and she had no discourse with him after this.



It would be unnecessary, nay, it will be impossible, to exaggerate the facts related with so much simplicity and with so great an air of truth, in the above narrative. I shall only observe, therefore, that after perusing it the reader will, perhaps, begin to think that it will be of very little consequence to the character of Mr. B., whether the letters said to be his, be so, or not, when facts much stronger, than any contained in those letters, are so clearly and so peremp torily attested by Mrs. *Hoyes*; whose evidence not only confirms the money transaction, and *Father Carteret's* having re-admitted our convert into the Order of *Jesuits*, but also discovers a *new Fact*, perhaps more decisive than either of the other two, as to B's religious principles since he came into *England*,—I mean his having been the means of perverting her and her husband from the Protestant religion.

Will B. and his friends cry out, that no regard is to be paid to the testimony of a Papist; tho' I have already taken notice of the unreasonableness of objecting against *Popish* evidence, when Protestant evidence cannot, from the nature of the case, be obtained, yet, I make no doubt, that we shall hear of the above objection. But I would desire those who can be so much more friends to B. than they are friends to truth, as to continue blind to his base conduct, to be cautious, for their own sakes, how far they engage their own credit in support of the reputation of another, who, when the *strongest* facts supported by authentic records, and living witnesses, are laid to his charge, has no defence to make, but by raising a cry, unsupported by the least shadow of proof, against a great body of men; as if every thing which comes from that quarter must be forgery and perjury, tho' there can be no sufficient temptation to induce them to be thus guilty. I can easily suppose it possible, that a man accused of things, which, if believed, will expose him to con-

tempt

tempt and infamy, may be so abandoned as to deny the charge upon oath, especially if breach of the most solemn vows and oaths be a part of the charge. This, I say, I can easily suppose, but am totally at a loss to assign any one good reason, why Mrs. *Hoyles*, a woman of good character, respected in her neighbourhood, a housekeeper, and having the profits of a good trade to make her easy in her circumstances, should be suspected of giving a false testimony in the present case. She desires, as I am told, nothing so much as to be *confronted* with Mr. *B.*, but believes, that he will scarcely venture to meet her, unless forced to do it in a Court of Justice, where she will, at any time, convert her narrative into an *affidavit*; an affidavit, which will have all the internal marks of veracity, and the credibility of which can be supported, as to some of the principal facts, by other witnesses, and, to Mr. *B.*'s great disappointment, by *Protestant evidence*.

When a fact is affirmed a great many years after it happened, at a time when the person, who affirms it, is said to have a motive to depart from truth, it will *entirely* remove all suspicion of this kind, if it can be proved, that the same person asserted the same facts, soon after it happened, and before the supposed motive to give a false testimony, did exist. Now this is remarkably the case of Mrs. *Hoyles*'s charge against *B.*; for it can be proved unexceptionably, that, long before he had given the *Papists* any provocation, by writing against them, nay, at the very time when he was her intimate friend and visitor, she used to speak of his having been the instrument of her and her husband's conversion to *Popery*, mentioning it, then, not as a reproach, but as a commendation.

In confirmation of this, we appeal to the testimony of Mr. *Faden*, printer in *Wine-Office Court*, *Fleet-Street*, and a *Protestant*. This person lodged in the house of Mr. *Hoyles* several years, from 1733 to 1737 or 1738.

1738. During that time, he remembers well to have seen Mr. B. coming to visit Mr. and Mrs. Hoyles, hundreds of times; and says, that it was notorious to every one in the house, that Mr. B. was a Jesuit, and had been the instrument of converting first Mrs. Hoyles, and at length her husband, to the *Popish* religion, that they made no secret of this, at that time, and that he had, then, heard Mrs. Hoyles, in presence of her husband, frequently speak of Mr. B. as the good friend, who had first put them both in the way of being Catholics. Mr. Faden, who was so well acquainted with this remarkable instance of B's *Popish* zeal, was greatly surprized when he heard his publishing his History of the Popes, in which he is so zealous a Protestant, and hath, at different times, whenever occasion offered, told what he knew about B's having converted Mrs. Hoyles's family, to his acquaintances. Some of these acquaintances have heard it from him several years ago; last year, a reverend Divine, a dignitary in the Church, to whom it was then related, thought it worth while to communicate it, tho' without the names, to the world, in the *Evening Advertiser*; and, within these few weeks, Mr. Faden hath given the above intelligence to some gentlemen, who, upon the talk occasioned by B's correspondence with Father *Sheldon*, had the curiosity to hear from Mr. Faden himself, a story which will incline those to whose ears it shall reach, to believe any other instance of Mr. B's *Popish* connexions and inclinations many years after his coming into England.

After so decisive a narrative as that of Mrs. Hoyles, corroborated by the remarkable testimony of Mr. Faden, few of my readers will think it necessary to produce any other witnesses, about a point so unexceptionably cleared up, by the evidence already given. However, as other witnesses do exist, whose attestation



tion will be looked upon as of the utmost consequence, I must beg leave to add, that,

To the testimony of *Father Carteret* and *Mrs. Hayles*, as to *B's* being readmitted into his order, we have it in our power to add that of *Mr. Horne*, formerly Surgeon to the Empress of *Russia*, and, at present, lodging in *little Wyld-Street*. This gentleman, on the first of *June 1756*, upon being asked about *B.*, declared, that, many years ago, he lodged in the same house, with *Mr. Carteret*, in *great Wyld-Street*, that he, at that time, got acquainted with *Mr. B.*, who came frequently to visit *Mr. Carteret*, that *B—r* had very many conferences with *Carteret*, and that many of these conferences were held, in *Mr. Horne's* room, which, as being more commodious, he lent to *Mr. Carteret* for the occasion. What passed between them, *Mr. Horne* knew no otherwise than by *Mr. B's* saying to him, at last, *Mr. Horne, I am now of yours, or I am now one of yours.* Upon which *Mr. Horne* congratulated him, and was just going to ask his sacerdotal blessing, but checked his inclination, as he did not know but *B.* might not, as yet, be permitted to exercise his priestly function, from which he had been suspended.

The last witness whom I shall produce is one who seems, by conversation with him, to know a great deal more about *Mr. B.* than he cares to speak of, but who hath mentioned enough to confirm several facts related above, and which *Mr. B.* will find it extremely difficult to reconcile with that character which he hath assumed. The witness I mean, is *Mr. John Gay* now living in *Park-Street, Grosvenor-Square*, who, upon being asked, lately, what he knew about *B—r*, communicated the following particulars to a Gentleman from whom I have had my information.

*Mr. Gay* says, that he lived as servant to the Provincials of the *Jesuits*, when they lodged at *Mrs. Fleetwood's* in *little Wyld-Street*. That he remembers *Mr.*

*B—r,*

B---r, soon after he came to *England*, he believes about thirty years ago, coming to visit Mrs. Fleetwood's lodgers the *Jesuits*, and B---r himself was known, in the house to be one of their order: but upon what footing he was with them, or what passed in these visits, Mr. Gay doth not pretend to know; but says that when B---r came first to Mrs. Fleetwood's, he spoke broken *English* with a *Scotch* twang, (b) but so as to be understood; and he lodged at that time, at one Mr. Aston's, next door to Mrs. Fleetwood's. Upon her death, Mr. Gay took a house himself, on the opposite side of the same *Street*, and

(b) Mr. B. hath usually told Protestants, that he was carried abroad when he was an infant, not above four or five years of age: and I have been informed, that he sometimes hath amused those whom he thought fit subjects to be imposed upon, with this tale, that the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, being acquainted with his family, sent for him into *Italy* and bred him up in his dominions. --- Now he did not return to *Britain* till he was upwards of forty years old, and yet, immediately upon his return, he spake with a *Scotch* accent. He has generally accounted for this by saying, that he learnt his *English*, by frequenting a Coffee-House to which many *Scotch* gentlemen resorted. But how could he acquire, if this be true, the remarkable dialect of the county of *Mearns*? His *Scotch* acquaintances will tell him, that this *Sbibboleth* betrays him, and shews that he was much older, than he pretends, when he left the neighbourhood of *Dunder*. In confirmation of which, I have seen a letter which says, that a gentleman now at *Dublin*, and who will be in *London* by *Michaelmas*, can and will attest, that he saw Mr. B---r at *Rome* when he might be then about 18 years of age, and that he could not then speak one word of *Italian*; which, I think with his great parts, he certainly must have done, had he been twelve years in the dominions of the Grand Duke. tho' Mr. B. hath usually dated his transportation to *Italy*, from his very infancy, perhaps there are some of his acquaintances who remember to have heard a different story from him. To some of them, I am well assured, he has said that he was in *Italy* 28 years; and as he indisputably was upwards of 40, when he came back, he must, by this account, which can be traced to his mouth, be at least 12 years old when sent abroad.

the Provincials of the *Jesuits* lodged with him a great many years, and Mr. *B---r* continued his visits, during the time of Fathers *Turberville*, *Richardson*, *Brown*, *Bolt*, and others. Mr. *Gay* says farther, that one Mrs. *Hayes*, lodged in his parlors and boarded with him. With this gentlewoman *B---r*, by coming frequently to the *Jesuits* above stairs, got acquainted, and used to visit her, as often as he came to the house; but Mrs. *Hayes*, at last, complained to Mr. *Gay*, of *B---*'s taking indecent liberties, by putting his hand into her neck; and said that unless she could be free from such impertinence, she should be obliged to leave the house; and for this reason, Mr. *Gay*, the next time that *B---* knocked at the door, refused him admittance; tho' he believes he came to the house after this, and did not leave off visiting the *Jesuits* who lodged there, till within these twelve years.

If after all this chain of evidence, the reader should demand proofs still stronger of our Historian's zeal for *Popery*, and connexions with *Jesuits*, long after his coming into *England*, tho' I could not but look upon such a demand as highly unreasonable, I should observe that at a proper time, and before proper judges, I make no doubt of the demand's being complied with, as fresh proofs come out every day, and as every inquiry made, from every quarter, throws new light upon the subject. Leaving, therefore, other witnesses, who have it in their power to speak to Mr. *B*'s conduct since he came into *England*, to be called upon, when they may speak what they know of him without danger to themselves, I shall now lay before the Public an account of the true reason of his leaving *Italy*, as the *Jesuits* relate it. We have already given the substance of Mr. *B*'s account, as related by himself in private, tho' disowned by him to the world. Till, therefore, he shall be pleased to fulfil the promise which he solemnly made about six years ago, to publish, himself, an account of this matter, the following

extract



extract of a letter from *Italy*, which contains the testimony of three eminent *Jesuits* there, must, at least, have as much credit due to it, as Mr. B's smuggled romance, which he hath not thought fit to trust to the Public; however forward he might be to retail it in the company of those whose good opinion of him, he thought, would not allow them to doubt, or whose ignorance would render them unable to contradict his bloody tale.

*Extract of a Letter from Rome, dated May 1, 1756.*

‘ **T**HOUGH I had your letter but yesterday, I have informed myself as well as I could concerning Mr. B—. First, it is certain, and can be authentically proved, that he never was either Professor of Rhetoric in *Rome*, or counsellor of the inquisition at *Macerata*. The first is evident from the day-books of the *Roman* college; and the latter, because it is notorious that there has not been in the memory of man one of his order in that post at *Macerata*; which may be farther cleared by consulting the books of that tribunal. The truth is, he supplied for about three weeks, as master of Rhetoric at *Rome*, while he was a student of Divinity; and that, in the time of the vacancies, is a case which happens to some one in the like station every year.

‘ Mr. *Allicozzi*, his cotemporary, (a very learned writer) tells me that in the time of his novice-ship *dava in scrupuli*; but it seems he was soon cured of them; for he was scarce out of this novice-ship but *dava in amori*, particularly whilst a student in philosophy. \*\*\*\*\* (i) Notwithstanding, he shewed a great genius in his philosophy, and turned out the best of his course. How he behaved in teaching humanity I have not learned; but he never taught at *Rome*. During his Divinity studies,

(i) Had Mr. B. seen that part of the letter now left out, he would not complain of any thing's being concealed that might do him any credit.

he did not answer expectation, and in his fourth year was sent to the *German College* as Academic, which shews him not to have been among the foremost. He carried on his amours with . . . . . as he had done in his philosophy, and was looked upon by all that knew him, to be a deceitful false man, and a notorious liar. Being sent to *Macerata* to teach philosophy, he was there over head and ears in love with a *Nun*, a young woman of quality, but simple to the last degree, called *Buonacursi*. It was whispered about, that she had agreed to let him take her out of the monastery, and carry her off. It is at least certain, that her Father was enraged against *B—r* in a high degree, and threatened him with his life. The affair was carried to the inquisition, for it properly belonged to that tribunal, *B—r* being the Lady's Ghostly Father.

Mr. *Lunardi*, who has since been very well acquainted with the Lady, says, that *B—r* denounced himself, and advised her to do the same, in order to prevent any farther prosecution (*k*). But this had not the desired effect. For the inquisition were taking farther informations about the affair, when *B—r* was removed (by an order of his superiours) to *Perugia*. The Inquisitor interceded with his superiours to let him stay at *Macerata*, alledging other pretences; but his true reason was to keep him there till he had sufficient proofs against him to lay hold of him. But it seems they had heard too much to leave him any longer at *Macerata*. He was, therefore, ordered to *Perugia*, where Mr. *Coniers* was master. Very soon after his arrival there, he had notice from three different hands that a *Capiatur* was given out against him by the inquisition. He would have communicated his letters to Mr. *Coniers*, but he re-

(*k*) This is actually done in the inquisition by persons voluntarily declaring themselves penitents. But this is not admitted in any crime between a Confessarius and his Penitent.

• fused

refused to hear them, not to draw himself into difficulties. Nor did Mr. *Coniers* give him any order or leave to fly; but was entirely passive in the affair, excepting that he procured him money enough to carry him to *Venice*, and recommended him to one there who supplied him with what he wanted to continue his journey to *Douay* (1). He made his escape from *Perugia* disguised in a clown's dress, which he laid aside as soon as he got out of the pope's state, and put on a cassock that he had carried with him. They say that one of the persons, who gave him notice of the *Capiatur*, was the Lady *Buonacursi*. This is the substance of what Messieurs *Allicozzi*, *Coniers* and *Lunardi* have attested concerning Mr. *B*'s behaviour at *Rome* and *Macerata*.

Having now laid before the Public a transaction which, for some months past, hath been so much the subject of private conversation, while I flatter myself that this performance will, in general, need no apology on account of the intelligence which it communicates, I am apprehensive that an apology may be necessary when I consider the bulk to which it hath insensibly grown. And yet, with the most earnest desire to preserve brevity, both for the sake of the reader and myself, I do not think that I could have been less tedious, without being less exact, or that I could have omitted

(1) Mr. *B* --- was actually some time with his countrymen the *Scotch Jesuits* at *Douay*, after he left *Italy*. He passed in that college for a brother *Jesuit*, going upon the mission to *Scotland*, and was entertained with great kindness. It is easily conceived why Mr. *B* did not make this a part of the narrative with which he hath amused his Protestant acquaintances. The same reason, no doubt, induced him to conceal his having borrowed, at *Douay*, the horse of *Father Straban*, the rector of the *Scotch* college, to go on a visit to a friend at *Lisle*. His riding off with this horse to *Calpis*, where he sold him, will account for his trepidation when he met Lord *Baltimore* there; for tho' the *Romish* inquisition could not, the French *Marchauffe* might be at his heels.



any thing of what I have said, without omitting some argument which might merit attention, or some proof which might command assent. If the number of my pages be great, I can say, at the same time, I have not once wandered from my subject, nor ever lost sight of the extraordinary person, whose *real* character hath been unknown, till it fell to my lot to be the instrument of exposing it to the Public.

If it should be asked why this hath not been done sooner, I shall only answer, that, tho' it is now three or four months since the six letters to Father *Sheldon* were first shewn to Protestants, the collateral evidences of their genuineness have been since gradually discovered, and the reader will have observed, that it was not till very lately that some of the most striking proofs, related above, could be appealed to. Other reasons, besides expectation of fresh evidence, have retarded the laying the matter before the world in such a performance as this. Hopes, I believe, were conceived (I am afraid without foundation,) that a way would be found by which the genuineness of the Letters might be authenticated, by a decision in *Westminster-Hall*, the honorable gentleman, in whose possession the originals are, thinking, I suppose, that if he could obtain the sentence of a court of Justice, this would silence calumny, would force prejudice to open its eyes, and influence the Judgment of the whole nation. And yet, had it been possible for him (perhaps it may still be (a) possible for him) to bring the affair into a court of justice, an issue in which his adversary hath shewn so remarkable an aversion to join) I am apt to think, that the event would not have wholly answered expectation,

(m) Most Lawyers seem to doubt of this. Mr. B. was called upon to take his oath, by way of appeal to his *prudence*, not by way of appeal to his *conscience*. But it should seem that the *Jesuit* was too cunning for the Baronet. The oath hath been made, it is true, but care was taken to convey away the original affidavit, so that no *record* of the transaction exists, and consequently no prosecution for perjury can lie.

as many would have adhered still to that side, which took the most pains to practice upon their ignorance, and to accommodate itself to their prejudices. Without being solicitous, therefore, to assign reasons why an appeal was not sooner made to the Public, now, that such an appeal is made, the affair is placed upon its proper foundation; and as the press is open to those who can find no remedy in *Westminster Hall*, Mr. B. may plead his own cause without seeing counsel in an action of slander, or without paying a solicitor for penning an Affidavit.

One would have thought, that an *innocent* person, so accused as this gentleman hath been, would have lost no time, after he had a copy of his accusation delivered to him, in making his defence. And yet, tho' attested copies of the letters have been given into his hands, near a month ago (*n*), he still holds his tongue and keeps silence. He had been loud in his complaints, that copies of the letters were not delivered to him at first; and yet, after he has obtained them, he leaves the world as much in the dark as it was before; so that it seems very difficult to reconcile the unwillingness which he shews to communicate to the Public, the letters which have been the foundation of so severe a charge, with his *uncommon* forwardness in denying the charge itself. — Indeed he hath been pleased to inform us (*o*), that upon his obtaining a copy of the letters, *he will prefix them with proper remarks to the fourth volume of his history of the Popes*. But two reasons have induced me, not to wait for the completion of this promise. The first is, that, although the *forwardness* of his *fourth volume*, in the press, hath been so positively asserted by him (*p*), I believe *as good* evidence, at least as his own, can be produced to prove, that it is in so great *backwardness* that there can be but little hopes of its seeing

(*n*) On the 5th of June.

(*o*) In the Evening Advertiser of May 25th.

(*p*) In an article of intelligence published in all the Newspapers.

seeing the light sooner than next year; before which time, he might forget to prefix the letters to *Falber Sheldon*, to the fourth volume, in the same manner as he forgot a similar promise, to publish after the second volume, an account of his escape from *Italy*. Another reason equally strong, which has induced me, not to wait for Mr. B's publishing the letters with his own remarks, is this, that tho' without doubt, no body is no well qualified to make remarks upon them, as himself in point of knowledge of the facts, any other body will be better qualified to make remarks upon them, in point of impartiality. This last qualification I myself, can boast of; and, however deficient, in other respects, this performance be, I think I can also boast that to *impartiality*, I have added *industry*, not having presumed to take the pen in hand till I had procured all the materials which readily offered themselves upon this subject. But however well furnished with materials, no consideration should have prevailed upon me to make this use of them, had I not thought, that by so doing, I acted the part of a good citizen, of a friend to truth, and of a sincere Protestant.

If it should be objected, that Mr. B. stands in no other relation to the Public, but that of an author, and that, therefore, the Public hath no right to inspect the inconsistencies or censure the contradictions which may belong to his private character, I answer, that such a remark, very pertinent in other cases, can have no weight at present. For it is *notorious* to all the world, that Mr. B. himself hath taken care to make his private character, and private history as related by himself, the foundation of his public character as *Historian of the Popes*. Had a Divine of the church of *England*, with no other claim to the favor of the great but his modesty and his merit, undertaken this work, his subscription I fear would scarcely have defrayed his expence; and his book, tho' it might be esteemed by the few who are really learned, would hardly have found a place in the Libraries of the many pretenders to learning.



ing. But a history of the *Popes* by a counsellor of the *inquisition*, by one who had fled into *England* for conscience sake, and who, after his arrival amongst us, run daily risques from the attempts of *Popish* emissaries; a work done by such an hand, Mr. B. was persuaded would go well down with a people, fond of novelty, so good natured as to feel for the distresses which he had undergone, and so great enemies of persecution as to take one under their protection who could make them believe that he had been a sufferer by it. The historian of the *Popes*, therefore, owing all his encouragement, his favor with the great, his noble subscription, his place and his pension, to a character which he assumed, and to an account of himself artfully propagated, if it shall appear that he assumed a character to which he had no pretensions, and gave an account of himself which hath no reality, in this case, the Public hath as good a right to detect such an impostor as a traveller hath to pull off the mask from a highwayman who shall attack him. The latter would never have ventured to take a purse without disguising his person, and the former would never have succeeded as a writer, had he not disguised his character. Both of them, having aimed at their own profit, by preying upon the Public, it becomes the duty of every one who hath found out their haunts, or can trace them through their disguises, to assist in bringing them to justice, that the world may no longer suffer from the open violence of the one, and the more dangerous hypocrisy of the other.

By communicating, therefore, to the Public the charge brought against this extraordinary man, and the unanswerable proofs that support it, I shew my regard for his *patrons*, who having honored him with their friendship while they thought him the man of truth and religion, will, no doubt, withdraw their countenance when they find they have been imposed upon, by servile *flattery* and low cunning. --- I shew my regard for his subscribers and acquaintances, who have  
been

been taught to look upon him with the veneration due to a *primitive* confessor. — I shew my regard for the inhabitants of *Great Britain* in general, whose encouragement of one impostor might expose them to future attempts of the like nature. --- I shew my regard for his Majesty, whose bounty, intended only to reward merit and relieve innocence, hath been so liberally extended to one destitute of both these qualifications; one who has also presumed to address his sovereign in terms which would be respectful if we had no room for doubting of their sincerity. In a word --- by unmasking the *Historian of the Popes*, I think I do real service to the Protestant Religion, as Papists will now see, that the Church of *England* can be no *Asylum* for the unworthy out-casts of the Church of *Rome*; that Protestants are ready to give up every champion however zealous, whose views and character they disapprove of, or suspect; and that, fully satisfied with our *Chillingworths*, our *Barrows*, our *Stillingfleets* and our *Tilloisens*, we despise the mercenary assistance of a *Bruys*, or a *B---*.



APPEN-

# APPENDIX,

Containing

## The LIFE

OF

## FRANCIS BRUTS,

Author of the French *History of the Popes*, printed at the *Hague* in five Volumes 4<sup>to</sup>, in 1732, 1733, and 1734.







## APPENDIX,

Containing

The LIFE of

FRANCIS BRUYS, &amp;c.

**F**RANCIS Bruys was born at *Serrieres*, a village of *Maçonnois* in *France*, on the 27th of *February* 1707, and was son of a merchant of the same name by *Claudine Passeaud*, his wife. He received the first part of his education under the care of his mother's brother, *James Passeaud*, then Rector of the parish of *Chavagny*, near *Maçon*, who taught him the elements of the *Latin* tongue, and finding in him a good disposition and genius for learning, determined his father to send him to study under the monks of *Cluni*.

Young *Bruys* having finished his humanity-studies under them, removed to *Notre Dame des Graces en Forez*, where he began his course of philosophy under the fathers of the *Oratory*, and returned from thence in 1725 (a). He was intended for the Church (b): but before that design could be put in

(a) *Memoires historiques, critiques, & litteraires*, par *seu* M. Bruys, vol. I. p. 59, 60. edit. de Paris 1751, in 8°. *Pere Niceron Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres*, vol. 42. p. 130. & *Vie de M. Bruys*, prefixed to the 1st Volume of *Memoires historiques, &c.* p. 1, 2. It appears from *Niceron*, p. 166. that the article of M. *Bruys* in his *Hommes Illustres* was communicated to that writer by the *Abbé Joly*, honorary Canon of the cathedral church of *Dijon* in *Burgundy*, an intimate friend of M. *Bruys*, whose *Memoires historiques* appear from the preface p. 3. to have been published by that *Abbé*.

(b) *Memoires historiques* p. 60.

execu-

execution, he took a course which prevented it. For in 1727 he resolved to travel, tho' without the consent or knowledge of his family, or any proper provision for such a journey; and setting out, in pursuance of this resolution, arrived on the evening of June 18th at *Pont de Veyle*; thence he proceeded to *Bourg*, the capital of *Bresse*, and on the fourth day after his departure reached *Geneva*; where he wrote to his father, who returned him a severe answer, being highly displeased with his elopement from his family (c).

After six months stay at *Geneva*, he went into *Switzerland* (d), and thence into *Holland*, arriving at the *Hague*, 3 July 1728 (e). Here he declared himself a Protestant (f). He had scarce settled himself at the *Hague*, before he began to consider in what manner he might subsist; for which purpose he soon commenced author, and undertook a periodical work, under the title of *Critique d'intérêt des Journaux Littéraires & des Ouvrages des Sçavans*, published at the *Hague* in 1730 in 12°. But having in that journal declared on the side of M. *Saurin*, the celebrated preacher at the *Hague*, in the dispute concerning *official lying*, and having inserted in the third Volume, Art. 8. p. 113, a letter to M. *Fa'aiseau*, published after an edict of the States of *Holland* had enjoined an absolute silence on that question, he was accused by the *French* ministers of the opposite party of *Holland*. In order, therefore, to give time to this storm to blow over, he left *Holland*, and came to *London* (g); where he made no long stay, being induced by the letters of his friends at the *Hague*, and

(c) Ibid. p. 60--64.

(d) Ibid. p. 85.

(e) Ibid. p. 151.

(f) *Niceron* p. 131. & *Vie de M. Bruys*, p. 2.

(g) He was there in *October* 1730, as appears from the draught of a letter of M. *Des Maisneux's* still extant.



the advice of M. Des Maizeaux, to return soon to Holland (b). But he found himself abandoned by M. Saurin, whose defence he had undertaken; and the prosecution, in which his zeal for that Divine involved him, was attended with considerable expence as well as trouble (i).

The friendship, which he had contracted during his residence at London, with M. Des Maizeaux, occasioned a correspondence between them by letters. Of these seventeen of the originals of M. Bruys from Nov. 29, 1730, to 18th July 1733, still extant, shew his true character and principles at that time. It will be proper, therefore, for this purpose, to transcribe some passages from those letters.

In that from the Hague of the 29th of November 1730, after mentioning his design of going that winter to Burgundy, his own country, he breaks out into a strain of profane raillery: *Je compte d'aller cet hyver en Bourgogne boire de copieuses rufades à votre santé. Faites la même chose à Londres, & faites une si bonne provision de Foi que vous puissiez vous persuader, que le vin de Portugal vaut celui de Mâcon. Selon l'Evangile il n'est pas impossible d'avoir une pareille idée, quoiqu'elle paroisse fort extraordinaire. Transporter une montagne à l'aide d'un petit grain de Foi ne seroit-ce pas une chose plus extraordinaire encore? Mais gardons nous bien d'approfondir ces hauts mysteres, & crions avec la foule, Vive la foi du charbonnier. Si nous ne suivons pas en cela le parti le plus raisonnable, du moins sommes nous assuré d'être edans le parti du plus grand nombre. Or est-il que je veux me ranger à l'avenir du côté des plus forts. Ergo . . . Tirez la consequence, & dites-moi ce que vous pensez de cet argument.*

In the next letter, of the 26th of December, 1730, N. S. he mentions, that the favourable turns, which

(b) Nicéron p. 132, & seq. Vie de M. Bruys, p. 3-6. & Mémoires historiques, p. 228, & 271.

(i) Mémoires, p. 271, 272.

his affair of the prosecution had taken, would keep him in *Holland*, and divert him from his former resolution of returning to his own country.

His contempt of ecclesiastics in general, as well as his indignation against *M. de la Chapelle*, and other *French* ministers, and his resolution of returning to his native country, and the religion in which he had been educated, are evident from his letter of the 2d of *January*, 1730-1, N. S. *Voilà, Monsieur, à quoi l'on est exposé quand on a affaire à la gent ecclésiastique. Tout passe à la faveur du zèle de la maison de Dieu. Si ce train continue, je ne suis pas si éloigné de Bourgogne, que je ne puisse bien y retourner, Et qu'on vienne après cela me dire, qu'il faut sortir de Babylone.*

His language concerning Divines, in his letter of *April* 1731, N. S. is still more gross; for he declares, that he is more and more confirmed in the notion, which he had long entertained, that no sincerity, honesty, or good faith are to be found in the greatest part of men of that profession. *Au reste, je me confirme de plus en plus dans la pensée, que j'ai depuis long temps, sçavoir, qu'on ne trouve ni sincérité, ni droiture, ni bonne foi dans la plupart des Theologiens.*

He mentions in his letter of the 23d of *February*, 1730-1, N. S. that he had received two days before a pressing letter from his relations for his return to *Burgundy*, accompanied with a bill of exchange for 200 livres: and he asks what he shall do, since he had many circumstances to disgust him in *Holland*. And *M. Des Maisseaux* having in his answer given his opinion against his return, *M. Brays* in another letter of the 13th of *March*, 1730-1, N. S. raillies his friend for thinking that he should lose his liberty by going back to *France*, since the greatest liberty consists in being free in the midst of slavery itself. *Je reçois avec beaucoup de reconnaissance les bons avis que vous me donnez à l'égard de mon retour en France. Mais je ne saurois approuver l'idée que vous avez de la liberté. Je perdrois en Bourgogne, dites-vous, ce bien, qui est*  
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le plus précieux de tous. En vérité, je crois que c'est un bien très ébimerique. Car la plus grande liberté consiste à se trouver libre dans l'esclavage même. Ergo, &c. This shews, that our Freethinker, like most others, made no difficulty of outwardly conforming to a system of religious opinions, of which he had no conviction in his mind.

But notwithstanding his inclination to return to his native country and his old religion, of which he had been intended for a priest, tho' he appears from his letters not to have had any serious impression of any religion, he undertook to compile an *History of the Popes from St. Peter to Benedict XIII. inclusively*. This work is drawn up in a manner very infavourable to the papacy and the memory of most of the popes; and to give the greater force to his satire, the author assumes the character of a Roman Catholic. The plan of it and proposals for printing it *by Subscription* had been published at the Hague in 1730, in 24 pages in 4<sup>to</sup> with a specimen containing the life of *Gregory VII*; which he afterwards disavowed in the preface to the first volume of his *History* as defective both in style and method. The impression of the work itself was begun before April 1731, as appears from a letter of his of the 13th of that month n. st. tho' in that letter and another of the 8th of May n. st. from Hague, he does not acquaint M. Des Maizeaux with the secret of his being the author of that work. The first and second volume of which were published at the Hague in 1732, the third and fourth in 1733, and the fifth in 1734.

While he was engaged in this work, he quitted Holland, and retired to Germany, and lived near two years at *Emmerick*, where he married *Anne Dentil of Montauban*, by whom he had two children (*k*), and after her death married a second wife (*l*).

During his residence at *Emmerick*, he wrote one letter to Mr. Des Meizeaux of the 18th of July 1733,

(*k*) Vie de Bruys, p. 9.

(*l*) MS. letter of 18th July, 1733.



n. ft. in which he owned himself to be the author of the *History of the Popes*, and mentioned, that he was then drawing up an answer to the authors of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* and *Journal Littéraire*, which had fixed a suspicion of deism upon him; to which, he said, he would endeavour to reply in such a manner, as should not charge his conscience by a shameful and cowardly dissimulation. *Je reponds à présent aux auteurs de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée & du Journal Littéraire, qui me rendent suspect de deisme. Je me tire de cette intrigue sans charger ma conscience par une bonteuse & lâche dissimulation.*

His inclination for *Holland* reviving, he left *Emmerick* for *Utrecht*, with a resolution to fix there: but was diverted from it by an invitation of the Count of *New-Wied*, who wrote to him a most obliging letter, and offered him his patronage and an employment at his Court. Departing therefore from *Utrecht* on the 8th of February 1734-5, he passed thro' *Munster* and *Cologne*, and arriving at *New-Wied* in the following month, was received there with great marks of regard by the Count, who appointed him his *Library-Keeper*, and by the Countess, who intrusted him with an important commission eight days after his arrival.

The death of his patroness on the 27th of May 1736 (m) hastened the execution of a resolution, which he had formed of returning to *France* (n); and one of the reasons, which he assigns, was, that he had for four or five years past discovered his error in changing his religion, and thought it time to correct his error in that point, in order to set his conscience at ease (o). So that, according to his own account, printed since his death, he was a Roman Catholick in heart, while he professed Protestantism, and published his *History of the Popes*, tho' it is much more probable from his

(m) Nicéron p. 139-143. and Vie de Bruys, p. 10-15.

(n) Mémoires, tom. 2. p. 121.

(o) Ibidem.

own letters, that he had then no religion ; and his letter from *Emmerick* in July 1733, cited above, seems to admit the charge of deism objected to him.

In pursuance of his last design, he departed from Germany in August 1736, and went to *Paris*, where he abjured the Protestant Religion, and was reconciled to the church of *Rome*. He continued four or five months in that Metropolis, where he drew up his *Memoirs* (p), and formed an acquaintance with many of the learned men, and particularly Father *Tournamine* the *Jesuit*, who had a great esteem for him, and would have procured him a *settlement*, if Mr. *Bruys* had not been married. The interests of his family therefore obliged him to pursue the profession of the law, notwithstanding his disinclination to it. He went accordingly to *Dijon* with that view ; but on the day, on which he was made Licentiate there, he was seized with a Dropsy in his breast, which put an end to his life in the night between the 20th and 21th of May 1738, in the 31st year of his age.

After his Return to *France*, and on his death, he appeared to be a sincere Catholic ; and in his *Memoirs* he expresses the utmost aversion to Protestantism, representing the effects of liberty of conscience and toleration to be nothing but heresies and disorders, and detesting all his former writings as furnishing arms to the enemies of truth, and especially his *History of the Popes*, which he always spoke of with the utmost horror (q).

(p) They are dated at *Paris* 8th Jan. 1736-7, N. S.

(q) *Nicéron* p. 143-145, and *Vie de Bruys*, p. 14, 15.

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own letters, that he had then no religion; and his letter from Brunswick in July 1733, cited above, seems to admit the charge of deism objected to him.

In pursuance of his last design, he departed from Germany in August 1736, and went to Paris, where he resumed the Protestant Religion, and was reconciled to the church of Rome. He continued four or five months in that seminary, where he drew up his *Adversus* (p), and formed an acquaintance with many of the learned men, and particularly Father *Barthelemy*.

But the *Yves*, who had a great esteem for him, and should have procured him a *livraison*, in M. *Barthelemy* had not been married. The interests of his family therefore obliged him to pursue the protection of the law, notwithstanding his inclination to it. He went accordingly to Dijon with that view; but on the day

## ERRATUM.

Page 5. in the Note, line penult. instead of *Name of a plate and of a date*, read, *were of the most insignificant kind, as the distance of a place.*

1738, in the 31st year of his age. After his return to France, and on his death, he appeared to be a sincere Catholic; and in his *Adversus* he expresses the utmost aversion to Protestantism, representing the effects of liberty of conscience, and toleration to be nothing but heresies and disorders, and collecting all his former writings as furnishing arms to the enemies of truth, and especially his *History of the Poles*, which he always looks of with the utmost horror (p).

- (p) They are dated at Paris 8<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1736-7, N. S.  
(q) Nicotian p. 143-145, and Vie de Bayle, p. 14, 15.